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Universal Primary Education in Tanzania

I.M. Omari, A.S. Mbise, S.T. Mahenge,
G.A. Malekela, and M.P. Besha

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CONTENTS

Introduction 5

Concept and Purposes of Universal Primary Education 7

Trends and Constraints in Universalization of Primary Education in Africa 23

This Study: Methods and Results 51

Quantity versus Quality Issues 65

Conclusions and Recommended Actions 79

References 81

Appendix: Achievement Test Given to Grade-2 Pupils 87

INTRODUCTION

This study on the program to make primary education universal in Tanzania was conceived for two purposes: to generate discussion and support among academics for this historical event and to generate data, both primary and secondary, that could be used for formative developments of the program, as universalization of primary education is a continuous process.

The study was a departmental research project of the University of Dar es Salaam and was carried out by five members of staff who are coauthors of this document. Each of the members of the team, at some stage, played an active role. M.P. Beeha, who is Assistant Lecturer, coordinated the development and instrumentation of the project before he left for Madison, Wisconsin, for his graduate studies. A.S. Mbise, Lecturer, coordinated much of the data collection before he left for New York for his graduate studies at Columbia University. G.A. Malekela and S.T. Mahenge, also lecturers, coordinated the data organization before the former left for Chicago, Illinois, for graduate studies at the University of Chicago. All five members of the team participated in the field surveys. I did the writing up of the study during sabbatical leave at The Hague, Netherlands.

Appreciation is extended to the Rockefeller Foundation, which partially funded the fieldwork through departmental support; the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), which provided a fellowship that enabled me to write up the study; and the Center for the Study of Education in Changing Societies (CESO), which made rich inputs to the study through its library. The report is by no means exhaustive. Observations should be directed to the authors at the University of Dar es Salaam, Box 35048, Dar es Salaam.

I.M. Omari, PhD

CONCEPT AND PURPOSES OF UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

Universalization of primary education has received such great attention in developing countries that governments feel threatened when they do not talk about it during their budget sessions and in economic development plans and documents. Yet, the concept is not well defined and, thus, is used to mean many different things. For instance, universal primary education is used as a synonym for:

- The capacity, within a network of primary schools, to provide spaces for all school-age children;
- The mandatory attendance of all school-age children for a stipulated period, which entails enacting a compulsory-attendance law; making schools pleasant, attractive, rewarding, and inspiring; as well as solving family labour and financial problems resulting from the absence of children from home;
- Universal accessibility -- geographic, socioeconomic, and cultural -- to primary schools;
- Enrollment of all school-age children in grade 1 of primary school, which may require physically bringing them to school;
- The capacity to provide enough grade-1 places for the school-age group, regardless of what happens later or what decisions have been made about compulsory versus voluntary registration and attendance;
- Universal literacy, with instruction available to anyone, irrespective of age, regularity of attendance, etc.; and
- Universal, free, compulsory school education.

Raju (1978) and Williams (1979) have reviewed many of the variations, which are clear in the ways that politicians treat universal primary education. In some countries, they give only lip service to the issue, and, in others, it is a more serious exercise, entailing accountability for the outcomes of schooling.

Normally, however, politicians who wish to make a public declaration for political gains are primarily interested in universal grade-1 enrollment. The issues of compulsory attendance and quality of education are secondary. Sometimes, the politicians announce that universal primary education is free, whereas, in fact, there are hidden, indirect fees to students' families for uniforms, contributions to buildings, and school equipment; there are also marginal opportunity costs for parents who forego child labour in the family. Many politicians do not tackle these aspects of school fees (Hawes 1979).

The most important lesson is that, ultimately, universal primary education, no matter how defined, is a political issue in all societies, and, because politics rule, politicians should be made aware of quality issues so that appropriate resources can be set aside for educational purposes. Otherwise, universal primary education becomes what Goodman (1973) called compulsory miseducation.

Unesco (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) generally accepts Frediksen's definition (1978) of universal primary education: the enrollment of all children aged 6-11 years plus 10% additional capacity to allow for repetition. Yet, Unesco has not helped much in drawing the attention of its member states to quality issues and the retrogressive nature of some of the hidden school fees.

Most people take it for granted that universal primary education will entail compulsory attendance, free of school fees, for a specified period, normally between ages 6 and 12 in developing countries and between 6 and 16 in developed countries and that the state has the obligation to make schools accessible, attractive, and palatable to the learners. However, there are serious questions as to whether attendance at school should be compulsory, whether schooling should be uniform, and even whether schools provide the best approach to acquiring or providing education. Very often these questions have answers that mean conflicts between individual needs, family needs, and national needs, with national needs always seeming to prevail. In this respect, Goodman's questions (1973) are still valid:

> Since schooling undertakes to be compulsory, must it not continually review its claim to be useful? Is it the only means of education? Isn't it unlikely that any single type of social institution could fit almost every youngster up to the age of sixteen and beyond?

These queries are particularly relevant in African primary schools where the curricula are elitist and uniform and are basically used to prepare pupils for secondary education. In view of the fact that only about 5% of school leavers secure a place in secondary schools in many developing countries (Unesco 1980a), one must ask whether a common curriculum is the best preparation for life in a highly diversified and heterogenous rural environment. The experiment in education for self-reliance in Tanzania was in direct response to the question; its results need thorough review and evaluation so that the strengths, weaknesses, successes, and failures can be identified.

Compulsory education varies widely among the countries in Africa. Unesco (1980a) published data that, when analyzed, showed that duration of compulsory schooling in its 45 African member states varied from 5 years to 13; 11 countries had 6 years of primary education, another 11 had 7 years, 7 had 8 years, 5 had 9 years, 5 had 10, 1 had 11, and 1 had 13 years. The age of entry to primary school ranged from 5 to 8, with a majority (29 countries) having school entry at age 6. In the Eastern African region, the differences were smaller (Table 1). The age of graduation given by Unesco (1980a) varied from 11 to 19 years, with the largest group of children graduating at age 14 (13 countries).

The variations in the duration of schooling, age of entry, and age of graduation suggest that the decision about how long children should be kept in school is subjective; there is no consensus among different countries about the criteria of achievement or the efficiency with which achievements are to be attained. Likewise, there are no standards for class size, teacher-student ratio, materials to be available, qualifications of teachers, quality of equipment, etc. More importantly, governments have not dealt with the question of what happens to the children when they graduate from primary schools. Currently, universal primary education seems to imply the ability to

Table 1. Age at admission to primary school and duration of primary-education cycle (Tosh 1980).

Country	Age at admission	Duration of cycle (years)
Botswana	6	7
Burundi	6	6
Comores	6	6
Ethiopia	7	6
Kenya	6	7
Lesotho	6	7
Madagascar	6	5
Malawi	5-6	8
Mauritius	5	6
Somalia	7	6
Swaziland	6-7	7
Tanzania	7	7
Zambia	7	7

bring all children between ages 5 and 19 to school for no fewer than 4 years and not more than 14 years during which one may do anything at all with them but is at least morally bound to attempt to develop literacy and numeracy skills and to domesticate them to the national ideology. No wonder literacy is losing ground, especially in Africa (IBRD 1974).

Purposes and Aims of Universal Primary Education

Auger's review (1977) of the evolution of the concept of basic education in Eastern Africa gives several salient motives for universalization of primary education:

- Human birthright, for every citizen;
- Promotion of equality among members of society;
- Weapon for eradication of ignorance, poverty, and disease;
- Instrument for development of national identity and unity; and
- Prerequisite for participation in politics, government, national development issues and projects, and in further learning for individual and social development.

These motives recur in many other sources in one form or another, and, basically, they can be categorized into three clusters of issues:

- Human rights;
- Equity; and
- Economic and social development.

As universalization of primary education entails great decisions in terms of resource allocation, it is worthwhile to review these motives as background to the Tanzanian case study.

Human Rights Motives

The right to education in developing countries receives its inspiration and platform from the 1948 United Nations General Assembly, which adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulation, in Article 26, that:

- Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages (ages 6-11 or 12). Elementary education shall be compulsory.
- Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among nations, racial groups, and among religious groups and shall further activities of the UN.
- Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

The declaration, in addition, called for education that would enhance a clear and well-informed civic sense and a concern for the welfare of the nation as well as furthering the activities of the United Nations and world peace.

A majority of the signatories of the declaration were colonial powers in Africa; their activities subsequently discounted or ran directly counter to the declaration. The declaration implied obligations for provision of education in the colonies, but no action was taken to discharge the responsibilities. As a result, Colclough (1980:1) observed: "In the early 1960s, Africa was in quantitative terms the most underschooled continent in the world: primary education then covered barely two fifths of the relevant age groups, secondary covered only three percent, and university and other tertiary, a mere fifth of one percent." More accurately, at the time of independence, in the early 1960s, in almost all former colonies, only 7 of 100, that is fewer than 10%, of school-age children were able to attend fee-charging schools, whereas, in the metropoles, universal primary education had been achieved long before the Second World War (François 1968). The colonial powers were interested primarily in exploitation (Mazrui 1980), and the colonial epoch was a classic case of how the metropoles "underdeveloped" the periphery (Rodney 1972). The signatories of the human rights declaration promoted double standards, in which different educational systems existed for different racial groups (Cameron and Dodd 1970). Although the freedom of parents to choose among the available kinds of education was respected theoretically, in reality, there were no choices for poor parents.

Whether or not the former colonial powers adhered to the human rights declaration, the fundamental principles espoused in that declaration provide inspiration for actions that could raise the dignity of all human beings. The consequence of inaction, however, is continued and even increased illiteracy, which Gillette (1972) describes as a flagrant denial of a human right, just like right to life, for education is part of human life. Illiteracy inhibits or prevents effective exercise of other human rights or desirable activities such as:

- Voting -- with knowledge of the choices -- in elections;
- Working in a job other than the most degrading and exhausting forms of menial labour; and
- Attaining independence in self-defence, especially in courts of law where illiterates are totally dependent on others.

People who cannot read and write are easily exploited by dishonest intermediaries in transactions; they do not have access to facts, ideas, plans, or grievances except through hearsay; and, hence, they are perpetually dependent on literate members of their society for

information storage and retrieval. This setup encourages alienation and apathy among the illiterates. Finally, according to Gillette (1972), illiteracy inhibits social and economic development in the areas needing questioning of old truths, assumptions, and outmoded institutions, for which access to new ideas and alternative institutions, structures, and techniques is needed and is through the world of letters and figures.

Gillette is aware that it is easy to make a case against illiteracy, but it is difficult to make a case for literacy because the relationship between literacy and socioeconomic development is not linear like horse and cart but cyclic like the chicken and the egg. Literacy is not a sufficient condition for social justice and economic prosperity; it does not guarantee against exploitation, fascism, or degeneration of human dignity. Yet, it is easy to see the mutual relationships between literacy and development, a process of reciprocal acceleration and moderation, depending on the quality and amount of literacy and development. Although the exact relationship between literacy and social, political, and economic development is not easy to quantify, there is a strong feeling that, for this modern age, literacy is a necessary though not sufficient condition for accelerated development. To Gillette, literacy remains essential for management of the trivia of daily life in which one has to find ways; catch buses; and identify plant and seed labels, fertilizers, prices, advertisements, and the like. It offers individuals an opportunity to shape the life they live, to be self-reliant, and confident; hence, it is a tool for personal and social liberation through participation in the social processes and transformations, including resisting oppression.

For many poor, rural peoples, a campaign for universal primary education based on an almost metaphysical concept of right to education would probably not make sense. Only when right to education is based on right to work, to life, and to participate in development will it receive mass support. Helmchen (1980) points out that education is a separate qualification for most jobs and is, thus, a prerequisite for success in life. That is, education is not a means to an end but is an end in itself. In this conception, the right to education is based on the social quality of labour in which education is a positive right just like social existence whereby human labour, knowledge, power, and the product of labour are as much a part of a human being as are hands, head, and intellect. Thus, education becomes part of human labour in which the right to education is never realized where there is no right to work. In Helmchen's words (1980:58):

> To deprive anyone of the right to education means nothing less than to bring into dispute his [or her] sharing in...[self-] development, reached historically, as an individual member of the human species; to close to this individual or to this category of people the universal character of developed social activity and appropriation of nature; in practice to deprive them, as active producers and as real universalists, of their own prerequisite for life. To dispute, or even only to disregard the right to education therefore means to reduce the right to life to a right to survival.

Currently, the right-to-education notion in developing countries is a political platitude, with little commitment to quality because it

would entail significant changes in the allocation of resources to, and within, education. Universal primary education has not been achieved in many African countries and is not likely to be achieved in this decade; this fact clearly indicates a lack of clarity in the purpose of, and commitment to, primary education. The idea of education as a human right, even in the sense of the right to share the limited national resources that would otherwise be spent, for example, on prestigious projects and militarism, has not been widely embraced; more common are narrow conceptions of the purpose of education that at times hide ulterior motives. Politicians need to be more serious about this right of their peoples.

Economic Motives

The economic arguments for universal primary education can be grouped into two lines of thinking. One is that primary education increases economic development and, hence, is central to any long-term strategy for economic, social, and political modernization. The second is purely economic: that the returns from investments in primary education are better than those from investments in other levels of schooling. The two lines of thinking are not mutually exclusive, but they often receive differential treatment. The main proponent of the first is the World Bank (IBRD 1974:4), which in its 1974 education-sector paper contended: "...the provision of a minimum education is an essential condition for the effective participation of the masses in the development process...as well as in the social political process and ensures better use of human resources." The 1980 education-sector paper took on slightly more human rights' underpinnings. It borrowed from President Nyerere's contention that, ultimately, the purpose of development is humanity, justifying the expansion and improvement of primary-education facilities as being as important as health, nutrition, and housing. Like Gillette (1972), the World Bank conceives education as a means not only for meeting labour needs but also for responding to the dynamics of a changing world; ensuring civic participation; making maximum use of other human inputs such as nutrition, health, drinking water, housing; and enhancing future learning, all of which contribute to the productivity of any economy. However, the World Bank does not demonstrate the relationship between education and these promises. It seems to be justifying its own philosophy, which directs its investment policies -- an approach that does not deal with education as politics. It commissioned a paper on primary schooling and economic development (Colclough 1980:1) that reviewed the issues, without demonstrating the relationship between education and development, and concluded:

> ...primary schooling increases productivity in all sectors of the economy, and...the economic returns to investment in primary education are in many countries considerably greater than those arising from other levels of schooling...: it reduces fertility, improves health and nutrition, promotes significant behavioral and attitudinal changes at the level of both the individual and the community, which are helpful to the process of economic development...; benefits are very considerable even when school quality is low...; subsequent efforts to raise school quality by upgrading teachers and school resources are also likely to result in high economic returns in most poor countries.

The World Bank had, thus, reversed its earlier position that

encouraged massive investments in higher education, saying it was wrong, purely in economic terms. According to Colclough, the earlier policy was misdirected because it overlooked the individual and community needs for enlightened human resources in self-employment and menial work. This argument suggests that the human-capital argument used to encourage investment in postprimary education now is also applicable to primary education. This view is shared by Unesco (1980b) and others who are promoting universal primary education. The International Labour Organisation (ILO 1977), too, assumes that all development requires participation and that education is the driving force in human participation in economic, social, and political transformations.

Basically, the human-capital argument is that schooling raises labour productivity by increasing and improving cognitive abilities and dispositions of workers. At the lower levels of the occupational ladder, it is assumed that training in basic numeracy, literacy, formal reasoning, and self-expression provides the links between education and productivity, which, in turn, gives rationale for people's income. However, the relationship between years of schooling or intellectual ability and personal income is not linear, and the impact of schooling does not seem only to be cognitive and direct. There are noncognitive impacts such as changes in one's value system, attitudes, and traits such as punctuality, obedience, respect for authority, interpersonal communication, and self-image. These seem to play a part in the hiring and promotional behaviours of employers. Even in developing countries, schooling provides a screening device in the selection process for almost any job; the assumption is that the level of schooling is a safe predictor of intelligence at work, motivation for training, and subsequent productivity. School thus provides the minimum level of cognitive and affective functioning required in many activities, including menial jobs, and meets the psychological demands of the hierarchical organizations and social structures. In addition, there is evidence that the school is instrumental in the development of what has been called the modernity syndrome -- the norms, values, attitudes, and personality that characterize progressive people. However, the evidence also suggests that the modernizing effects only occur in environments that provide broad supportive reforms in the economy and in the society aimed at increasing participation in the labour force and economic improvements across the board.

The rate-of-return argument is expressed clearly by Blaug (1979) and has been used regularly by economists working for international funding agencies. In fact, it has permeated all economic-development plans of developing-country governments that have relied upon human-resources arguments for investment in education. Rate of return, both social and personal, is used as a criterion in investment decisions. The way it is used in education, for instance, is to compare earning differences between those who have completed primary school with those who have not attended school. Comparisons are also made between these earning differences and the costs of providing the schooled group with primary education. The rationale -- applied to any level of schooling -- is that if education increases productivity, this should be reflected in earnings in the labour market.

A large number of studies in both developing and developed countries have concluded, like Blaug (1979:4): "...the social rate of return to primary education is always higher, much higher, than to secondary education, and the rate of return to secondary education is

usually much greater than it is to higher education." The differences are seen both in earnings after graduation and in costs of schooling. For example, a university graduate earns about four times as much as a primary school leaver. In Tanzania, the monthly earnings are, on average, Shs 1500 (US $ 1 = Shs 9.4) and Shs 500, respectively. However, the differences in costs are much greater in many countries in Africa, with 40 : 1 being common. In Tanzania, the ratio is much wider: a primary-school pupil costs Shs 600 annually, whereas a university graduate costs Shs 57 100, a ratio of 1 : 95 (Tanzania, Ministry of National Education 1980). Of course, one can argue that salaries are not quite determined by forces of demand and supply but that other criteria such as poverty line, egalitarianism, and exploitation motives come into play and that graduates enjoy other benefits such as power, influence, and fringe incomes. Yet, the differences in costs can hardly be justified, and it can be argued that primary education is very neglected in investments.

What is significant is that primary education is no longer being treated as a by-the-way moral issue but as an investment that can be justified on economic grounds. In the past, concerns to fill the higher echelons of government bureaucracies have probably outweighed concerns for human resources at the base in the rural areas, with the result being the underdevelopment and exploitation of the periphery by the centre. Reviews of previous rationales for investments in postprimary education suggest that they have been based on social demands from a powerful minority rather than on concrete efficiency criteria because the resulting human-resources plans have practically never worked (Smith 1974). The current unemployment and underemployment of secondary and university graduates in many developing countries suggest that the past emphasis on higher education reflects the bureaucrats' view of national development and their distance from the realities of the large majority, who live in rural areas. The attitudes, mirroring the colonial philosophy, aim at creating and manipulating an elite for maintenance of the state.

Those who justify primary education on economic grounds deal with the measurable benefits and tend to forget the intangible, noneconomic outcomes such as the dynamic and strengthening effects of education on various social-policy objectives, including improvements in health, nutrition, cultural appreciation, local participation, farming, and overall modernization. Education differs from agriculture and industry because it is more pervasive, acting to integrate, horizontally and vertically, all development efforts. It is both a means and an end for social, political, cultural, and economic modernization. As the political economist Malima (1979) wondered: "...what kind of directly productive activities can...take place when most of the people...are illiterate or semi-illiterate with poor health facilities." In Tanzania, Nyerere has been almost obsessed with the feeling that all progress will come from a literate population. The government of Iraq (1980:19) has, similarly, contended: "...the illiteracy of vast sections of populations...is one of the most formidable obstacles to the political, economic, and social progress of our country."

Equity Motives

Equity issues seem to be the most popular ones in the arguments for universal primary education in developing countries. Even in the most regressive and stratified societies, equity is espoused by politicians to obtain legitimacy. The argument is that education has

equalizing effects in the sense that it recognizes and rewards intellectual excellence in the race for status, power, occupation, income, etc. Education is considered a means for the promotion of egalitarian social change. The argument was put forward in Nigeria by General Gowon in his announcement about universal primary education in 1974 (quoted by Hawes and Aarons, no date):

> It has been recognized that universal primary education is a prerequisite for equalization of opportunities....Since equalization is a major government objective, one of the most far reaching policy decisions in the plan is...the introduction of a free universal and compulsory primary education throughout the federation. The scheme will start in September 1976.

Equalization, however, is not that simple in educational and life opportunities; one has to examine the types and sources of inequality that militate against attainment of the goal. These include:

- Inequalities in access to education in terms of being enrolled;
- Inequalities in school careers in terms of how and when one is in school and in the distribution of school rewards and resources;
- Inequalities in school achievements;
- Inequalities in allocation of national resources to education as well as in the spatial distribution of educational resources, including teachers' qualifications;
- Inequalities in school facilities in terms of buildings and equipment, including books and other working materials;
- Inequalities in socioeconomic conditions, including the distribution of power, influence, privilege, and participation in the society;
- Inequalities based on cultural, social, sexual differences, which work against rural inhabitants, women, minorities, etc.; and
- Inequalities in penetration and advancement in the labour market and other social organizations after school education.

Thus, equalization of educational, social, and life opportunities should basically mean:

- Equal opportunity to get an education in school;
- Equal opportunity to maximize one's own potential and succeed in school; and
- Equal opportunity to reap the benefits of education in terms of employment and later incomes.

Factors other than school variables determine schooling outcomes; these include favourable home background (income and education of parents, brothers, and sisters; availability of study room; family size; parents' influence, motivation, and interest in schooling -- all of which are related to social status).

Children start school as unequals because of their origins, and schools make few efforts to equalize the opportunities for each child to succeed. Equality in access to primary school in actuality only means that primary-school leavers are eligible to compete for employment in the lowest categories of jobs in the formal sector. In many developing countries, to get jobs such as messenger, sweeper,

security watch, truck driver, road constructor, farm labourer, house servant, one must have primary education. Schooling is used as a screening device because there are too few vacancies and too many applicants. Although eligibility is equalized through education, it is not the only criterion in decisions about who actually gets a job. There are great inequalities with respect to who knows whom and in access to information about the job market and in distances from centres of employment. Likewise, there is strong evidence that children are treated unequally in the classrooms, depending on race, class, and personality, and that the differences in treatment lead to unequal outcomes (Proefriedt 1980). Thus, many people are disillusioned about the potential for equality through education. Advocates of deschooling, such as Ivan Illich, have even contended that schools are oppressive, manipulative instruments serving the interests of the elite in developing countries and corporate interests in capitalist societies.

Husen (1979) and Cummings (1980) have identified two emergent schools of thought in the issue of education and equality. The underlying belief for the faith in education to moderate inequalities is that education creates more opportunities both for employment in the formal sector and for self-employment and that, through provision of compulsory, free-of-charge education, states limit the arbitrary exercise of power by the holders of money, status, and privilege. This belief led to the emergence of the functionalist school of thought, which is close to the classic liberal view: it posits that education is a rational means of decreasing the impact of social background on academic and socioeconomic achievements. The idea is that people would be selected and provided with learning opportunities according to their abilities for the various positions in a complex, hierarchically organized society. Thus, school reforms and universalization of the first cycle of education are based on this naive thinking, which does not deal with asymmetrical class and power relations between rich and poor people, powered and underpowered groups, racial groups, employed versus unemployed, rural versus urban, and the intelligentsia versus the illiterate and semiliterate labourers. Typically meritocratic, this position is at worst conservative and at best an offspring of the liberal, social-democrat ideology. There is a tacit assumption that differences in income, wealth, and power are accounted for by differences in natural endowment. This is what Kozakiewcz (1980) calls "formal equality" as written in constitutions and legal statutes such as those for France, the USA, etc.; it should be distinguished from the pursuit of material equality fostered in socialist societies where education is one of the several means of achieving equality. In espousing equality, one cannot disregard the plethora of educational experiences and influences that take place outside the school nor define educational opportunity in terms of access to education rather than in terms of enabling each child to maximize his or her potential. True equality can exist only in a classless society.

The new Marxist school of thought, including the radical reformists, contends that schooling in modern states is a means of preparing docile and disciplined workers, that schools reproduce the prevailing class differences, and that, as such, education cannot be used for equalization of chances in the race for life, status, occupation, and power. In short, equal education attainment does not guarantee equal opportunity in a society characterized by asymmetrical relations. The new Marxists focus on the source of structures and the structures themselves that perpetuate asymmetrical relations rather

than on the flow of people through such structures, which include class and bureaucratic hierarchies, wealth-based institutions such as private schools, family foundations, special tuitions, and concentration of power and influence in the political and military elites. These structures would have to be reformed and transformed before education could equalize individual chances. Such changes require action by a radical, political elite that can bring about revolution and egalitarian social reforms in which education is mobilized as support. Liberal, social democrats are not prepared to take such action. In contrast, countries such as China, Cuba, Tanzania, and North Korea have attempted political revolutions, social reforms, educational reforms, and equalization of life opportunities. Education is used as a means of fostering the political revolution aimed at achieving material equalities.

However, this is not to say that these countries have equalized chances of success in schools and in society. It seems that classes, both in socialist and in capitalist societies, have acquired relative power, wealth, and influence to perpetuate and guarantee their continuation from one generation to another unless there are recurrent shocks such as the Cultural Revolution in China. A thorough review of the literature on education and social mobility handed down this sombre conclusion (Lipset 1972:106):

> ...advanced communist countries have not been more successful in removing all barriers to upward social mobility than the advanced western countries...and despite the efforts of many societies to ensure that educational resources are equally available to all, everywhere lower class children seem unable to take full advantage of them.

The issue, of course, is not that lower class children fail to take full advantage of resources available in schools but rather that schooling as an institution is not structured to include compensatory mechanisms for long-standing deprivations and neglect of lower-class people. Likewise, diversities in talent are not equally appreciated and harnessed. Equality of access to school should be followed up with special treatment -- additional inputs -- for underpowered and deprived groups to ensure relative equality of outcomes. Concomitantly, social conditions that perpetuate inequalities should be tackled at political and societal levels. It seems illogical to assume that children who started as unequals can benefit equally from the same treatments and exposures. Compensatory exposures and instruction are required for the underprivileged group.

For instance, Kozakiewcz (1980) reported that, in socialist states, the constitutional equality of all citizens is followed up by measures to promote equality at political, economic, and social-organization levels. The measures in education include:

- Provision of free education at all levels;
- Enactment of legislation to compel children's attendance in the first cycle of education;
- Provision of widespread educational opportunities (special education, vocational training, academic education, adult education, extramural education, etc.) for diverse interests, ages, and abilities;
- Allocation of funds for scholarships and allowances for able learners from all communities;

- Creation of conditions for independent learning such as free correspondence courses, low-cost textbooks, and study houses;
- Use of open flow of students from low to higher levels and horizontally;
- Assurance of access to all schools and professions by women; and
- Provision of equivalent certification from different schools.

In practice, equality of opportunity for equal results and life chances has not been achieved even in socialist countries. Kozakiewcz (1980) reported the factors that militate against achievement of equality in educational opportunities:

- Demographic fluctuations, which make the use of school facilities inefficient and sometimes inadequate;
- Population distribution, with people in the rural areas being widely dispersed;
- Regional inequalities, especially the rural-urban disparities;
- Psychological barriers, including parental apathy; pupils' low aspirations and their unrealistic estimation of their abilities and potential; irrational prejudices against rural schools, particular schools, and teachers; and
- School barriers such as those involved in quality variations.

Unfortunately, this list does not include power, class, and influence, which may be the most important factors. In Africa, the study of the impact of education in the equalization of life chances and school achievements has at best involved mapping the patterns of enrollment by regions, ethnic groups, class, sex, age, religion, and types of schools (Foster 1980). Such normative data are of no significance unless they clarify issues related to distributional inequalities (wealth, prestige, power, influence, and privilege), which relate to schooling outcomes. More importantly, politicians and bureaucrats probably don't take the data seriously enough to act in favour of the underpowered groups.

Dubbeldam (1970) has shown that, despite political strides in Tanzania, children of working-class people and those near schools start schooling at the right age and are not likely to drop out. In addition, if they fail to be selected for further education, they are more likely than other children to get a chance to repeat grades and enhance their opportunities to be selected. Regarding rural-urban inequalities in education, Sabot (1979) showed that, among 60-year-olds in Tanzania, 52% in towns had some formal education compared with only 13% in rural areas. It is hoped that universal primary education will redress this imbalance. Also, urban children have three times as much chance of entering secondary schools as do rural children because of the existence of day schools in urban areas (Omari 1977).

Even within urban areas, there are great variations between schools; for example, students attending Oysterbay and University Primary schools had more than 30% chance of securing places in secondary school, whereas the best schools serving the lower class had about 2% of their enrollments selected for secondary schools. A more serious source of inequalities of access to schools in Tanzania is the coexistence of fee-charging private schools and free public schools at all levels. Many of the private schools have inherent religious and class biases because admission is by religious denominations or by ability to pay, influence, and proximity to the schools. Private secondary schools now enroll 28 003 pupils and public schools, 40 298;

the former account for 1123 teachers, the latter 2230 (Tanzania, Ministry of National Education, 1980). The most regressive element in private schools (Omari 1968) is the fact that the rich peasants and the national bourgeoisie who can afford to pay annual school fees (now about Shs 3500) are being subsidized by the poor peasants through crop cesses and church contributions that are used for these schools. Nyerere (1981d) had great difficulties in Parliament in his attempts to clamp down on the expansion of private schools. He had to point out that private schools were exploiting the smallholder peasants. The political elite were dismayed, and, privately, they said they would oppose putting a lid on expansion and operation of private schools.

In Kilimanjaro region, where private schools exceed public schools (Siwale 1980), Samoff (1979) observed that, whereas national secondary-school enrollment was about 3% of the age group in Tanzania, it was about 11% in Kilimanjaro and about half of the children of the leaders of Kilimanjaro had secondary education. In fact, the existence of private schools is defeating government measures for equalization such as regional and sex quotas in selection because several of the private schools are for boys only, and parents still prefer to pay for boys rather than girls in coeducation schools. In addition, 75% of pupils in private schools come from within the region, and, in Wazazi (Parents) schools, the figure is 90%.

At the primary level, the imbalance is not so great: the private schools have an enrollment of about 14 173 pupils and 358 teachers compared with a total of about 3 million pupils in all primary schools. However, in preprimary education, there are no public institutions, and fee-charging private institutes have mushroomed (Omari 1973, 1979). Children of the urban elite and bourgeoisie get a headstart in these preprimary schools, according to evidence that class inequalities in school achievements start at this level (Scheifelbein and Simmons 1980). Samoff (1979: 44)[1] concludes: "And in Tanzania, differential access to education has facilitated the perpetuation of a particular pattern of social stratification, which in turn has fostered class differentiation." He points out that, according to his findings, central initiatives concerned with overcoming regional and class disparities of the national education system, as well as its elitist orientation, are not likely to succeed if they are limited to expansion of opportunity and to revision of the curriculum. More comprehensive educational policy is required.

Similar class biases in education, overrepresentation of the national elite and bourgeoisie, and the unequal participation of marginal groups have been observed in other countries such as Kenya (Nkinyangi 1980) and Nigeria (Yoloye cited in Omari 1977). In Ghana,

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[1] Samoff has a footnote that reads: "Since it is often the case that authors -- Tanzanian or expatriate -- who attempt a critical analysis of Tanzania development strategy are perceived to be aligning themselves with either the antisocialist or the doctrinaire Marxist critics of Tanzania, it needs to be reiterated here that Tanzania's efforts to overcome its underdevelopment are among the most impressive, and perhaps among the most successful, in the third world. My analysis is developed in the spirit of 'Tell no lies, claim no easy victories. Cabral; and Leaders must not be Masters; To plan is to Choose... Nyerere...'"

Weis (1979) specifically tested the hypothesis that educational systems serve primarily to maintain systems of structured social inequality, maintaining the existing distribution of power and wealth in society, with social mobility being incidental and minimal. Background data on samples of students selected for further education in 1961 and 1974 were compared. The data revealed a trend toward overrepresentation of the professional groups who accounted for about 3-4% in the labour force and more than 13% of the children in secondary education. Farmers, who constituted about 60% of the labour force were represented in secondary school by about 34% of the children, with the children of rich cocoa farmers dominating. In addition, children of urban parents in Ghana received more than their portion of secondary-school places.

Such observations in developing countries tend to justify the World Bank's conclusion (IBRD 1974:5):

> Educational systems and policies have a regressive character which favours urban populations and middle and upper income groups. These groups, therefore, have a definite advantage in terms of access to, and promotion within, the systems.
>
> Equalizing opportunity for access to education is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition to ensure social mobility through education. Providing equal chances for achievement, both in and after school, is a more difficult objective, as factors which cannot be affected by educational policies play a significant role. Opportunities may be equalized somewhat by appropriate methods of selection and promotion, such as "quota systems" (for sex, districts, and minorities) or by improvements in the methods of educational finance. As a whole, however, equity through education can be achieved only within the context of broader social policies.

For universal education, even at the primary level, to have equalizing effects on opportunities for promotion and life successes, the provision of school places for every child must be complemented by other measures, including:

- Identification of factors that facilitate achievement of specific learning outcomes, especially in curriculum, instruction, teachers, materials, physical facilities, and compositions of student populations;
- Attack on political neglect, poverty, and social deprivations; on use of power, influence, and wealth for personal benefit; and on gross social and economic inequalities;
- Democratization of education in terms of equality of access and opportunity to realize one's potential, which calls for massive subsidies from governments; decentralization of decision-making in education for basic levels; creation of local education commissions; and community participation in recruitment of teachers and in making decisions on selection and repetition of students;
- Development of remedial teaching, compensatory education, and skills in strong diagnostic, formative, mastery learning, teaching, and evaluation; and
- Reduction of differences in quality of schools.

Serious examination of the requirements for achieving relative equality of access to education and opportunity to realize potential suggests that many developing countries, especially in Africa, will make little progress in the near future toward the goal. Class formations are just taking roots, and political and military powers and influence are likely to take a stronger hold before true democracies emerge. In addition, universalization of educational opportunities that maximize achievements calls for massive financial and material resources that most of these countries do not have. Genuine concern for equity issues in education does not end with provision of school places for all children in rural areas. One has to deal with the development of policies designed to reduce social, political, and economic inequalities; to reduce the costs of school attendance (fees and prices of school uniforms, textbooks, and writing books); and to develop labour-saving mechanisms for parents who need child labour for activities such as herding livestock, fetching water and firewood, farming, childrearing, and housekeeping. In addition, the current curriculum needs to be revised and made relevant to rural children because rural and urban children cannot compete equally on the basis of a curriculum biased in favour of the urban elite. Secondary educational opportunities need to be restructured so that they cater to, and reward, professional training other than the traditionally prestigious occupations like engineering, law, accounting, and medicine. According to Boudon and Lagneau (1980:183):

> ...results show that it is unwarranted, at variance with well established facts, to suppose that a reduction in educational inequality necessarily leads to lessening of the rigidity of social heredity or necessarily has the effect of reducing income disparities. It is likewise incorrect to argue that educational inequality is the determining factor of other forms of social inequality.

The recent regression in China (Zachariah 1979) -- for example, suggestions that more than 50% of Chinese youths chosen to study in North America are children of the political, military elite -- confirms that politics, not education, rules in the process of equalization of opportunities. In capitalist societies, wealth gives access to quality education, power, and influence; in socialist societies, education gives access to military and political power, which, in turn, gives access to quality education, influence, and relative wealth.

At present, universal primary education is very peripheral to issues of equity. Educators are, at best, attempting what Husen (1979) called relative prevention of the emergence of those who use political, military, and economic power to underdevelop others, sometimes grossly neglecting merit criteria and social policies. Instead, they should be participating in politics both to separate political from economic power and to prevent the use of political and military influence for individual aggrandizement.

Universal primary education can be justified on both human rights and economic grounds, but, for it to have equalizing effects, the recipients must be able to use their newly acquired powers of communication, critical consciousness, and control of their environment to liberate themselves through agitation for political, social, and economic changes in the society. They must move to merge the right to education with the right to work, both of which should be

guaranteed and inseparable. Thus, educators should be concerned with how to foster talents and how to develop, on a mass scale, the potential pool of talents present in all strata and milieu.

Although, without political intervention, the benefits of education are skewed in favour of the middle class and although the primary remedy for poverty and deprivation is not necessarily education, one can conceive of education as a preferred consumer good. A majority of people want more of it, and there is no contradiction between education, wealth, power, prestige, influence, and social productivity. For children, especially poor ones, school represents status, for it represents order, food, clothing, activity, organization, and identification in an environment that may lack these attributes. The questions then are: What type of education? For whom? And what happens afterward?

TRENDS AND CONSTRAINTS IN UNIVERSALIZATION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN AFRICA

The history of attempts to make primary education universal in Africa is not long. A few countries began tentative efforts in the early 1950s. Ghana in 1951, Egypt in 1950, and Nigeria (Western and Eastern states only) in 1954-56 are examples. However, serious theoretical concerns for provision of universal primary education emerged only with the coming of independence in most African countries in the early 1960s. The 35 ministers of education of the African member states of the UN met in Addis Ababa in 1961 (Unesco 1961:5) and reviewed the educational situation in Africa (Table 2):

> Today, for the African states as a whole, only 16 percent of the children of school age are enrolled in school. The situation varies from state to state, ranging from less than two percent of the school age population in school in several states to nearly 60 percent in others. In majority of the cases, the proportion of children out of school exceeds 80 percent....Progress must be made in the years ahead if the educational programs in African countries are to make their proper and full contribution to the social and economic development of African states.

The meeting resolved, with Unesco encouragement, to achieve a "desirable educational pyramid and to have the basic personnel to move on to universal education of high quality by 1980," which should be compulsory and free, with a practical bias to mitigate rural-urban migration of school leavers. The duration was stipulated as "six years of general education and not vocational in its intention," but to include components that inculcate manual dexterity and respect for it, provide experience in creative activities, and stimulate an intelligent approach to the practical problems of the home and community. Other elements of the curriculum that was stipulated included a language for everyday communication, a language for wider currency, manual activities, fundamentals of arithmetic, introduction to the study of nature, and the basis of citizenship and moral values, elementary knowledge of the human body and how it works, the development of health habits, and the right attitude toward nutrition.

Looking back at the document of conference proceedings, one cannot fail to be impressed by the concerns and the stipulated contents, which sound fresh and relevant even today, education for self-reliance (Nyerere 1967) notwithstanding. The tragedy of the document is that the African states turned around to embark on massive expansion of secondary and higher education, both in numbers and budget allocations, creating many modern, prestigious and expensive universities and secondary schools at the expense of primary education. This turnaround does not seem to have been caused by a change of heart but by social demands (Smyth 1974), political neglect, vested interests, and misconceptions regarding the use of labour criteria for educational investments. The countries, Tanzania

Table 2. Educational situation in Africa, 1961 (Unesco 1961).

		Enrollment (000)		Population aged 5-14		Population aged 15-19	
	Year	Primary school	Secondary school	Total (000)	% in school	Total (000)	% in school
Basutoland	1958	119.5	3.0	165	90.5	67	4.5
Bechuanaland	1958	31.2	0.5	84	46.4	34	1.4
Cameroons (UK)	1958	54.8	1.4	391	20.0	164	0.8
Cameroun	1959-60	371.4	13.8	795	77.8	332	3.0
Central African Republic	1957-58	45.8	1.5	280	27.2	117	0.9
Chad	1959-60	54.0	1.5	647	13.8	271	0.4
Congo (Brazzaville)	1957-58	79.0	3.3	187	70.3	78	3.0
Congo (Leopoldville)	1959-60	1460.8	51.7	3405	71.5	1426	3.0
Dahomey	1959-60	81.1	3.6	431	31.3	180	1.4
Ethiopia	1958-59	158.0	8.1	5338	3.8	2235	0.5
Gabon	1957-58	39.8	1.2	101	65.7	41	2.0
Gambia	1958	4.6	0.8	72	10.7	30	2.2
Ghana	1959	483.4	178.6	1208	66.7	506	29.4
Guinea	1959-60	79.4	4.6	671	19.7	281	1.1
Ivory Coast	1957-58	125.7	5.1	641	32.7	269	1.4
Kenya	1958	651.8	20.3	1562	52.1	654	3.9
Liberia	1959-60	55.0	3.4	308	22.4	129	3.3
Malagasy Republic	1959-60	364.2	25.3	1299	46.7	544	1.4
Mali	1957-58	42.1	2.7	918	7.7	384	0.5
Mauritania	1957-58	6.5	0.3	155	7.0	65	0.3
Mauritius	1958	109.4	16.2	153	100.0	64	18.1
Niger	1957-58	11.8	0.4	603	3.3	252	0.1
Nigeria	1958	2545.3	117.4	8129	42.9	3403	2.9
Lagos	1958	56.7	6.4	83	85.4	35	15.2
Northern region	1958	230.0	8.1	4439	7.4	1858	0.3
Western region	1958	1037.4	73.3	1657	100.0	694	8.8
Eastern region	1958	1221.3	29.7	1950	78.3	816	3.0
Rhodesia and Nyasaland							
Northern Rhodesia	1958-59	244.0	4.9	566	53.9	237	2.6
Nyasaland	1958	269.7	3.0	667	50.5	279	1.4
Southern Rhodesia	1958	433.5	6.5	649	83.5	272	3.0
Ruanda-Urundi	1958	246.1	5.5	1156	35.5	484	0.9
Senegal	1957-58	80.5	6.1	561	23.8	235	1.9
Sierra Leone	1959	74.5	8.3	590	21.0	247	2.8
Somalia	1958-59	16.5	1.8	325	10.2	136	0.8
Sudan	1959-60	288.4	60.9	2819	12.8	1180	6.5
Swaziland	1958	29.9	1.1	67	55.9	27	4.5
Tanganyika	1958	422.8	15.3	2193	24.1	918	2.1
Togo	1959	78.7	2.4	411	31.8	172	1.0
Uganda	1959	501.7	41.6	1603	52.2	671	4.4
Upper Volta	1959-60	40.5	2.4	991	6.8	415	0.4
Zanzibar	1958	15.0	1.2	75	25.0	31	5.0

included, have not achieved universal primary education and are now experiencing unemployment and underemployment of secondary-school leavers and university graduates. The picture of educational development in most developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America looks the same, emphasis being on expansion of the apex for the last 20 years.

Blaug (1979) reviewed, comparatively and comprehensively, this pattern and observed that in Japan and Russia, both of which have centralized state-guided education, the base of universal primary education was achieved (in 1912 and 1930 respectively) before any attempts were made to make higher education universal. The picture is the same in Western countries, although the development was more haphazard because of the private nature of education. Other reviews (Blumenthal and Benson 1978) suggest that emphasis on primary education is both an equitable and a rational strategy for future expansion. The imbalance seems to have been a result of three elements: the colonial values, which placed a great premium on the creation of an elite to take over the colonial administrative apparatus; the vulnerability of African political and military elites to social demands; and the genuine rush to localize the administrations and the economies. Only in the mid-1970s did people realize that, with an annual increment of 5% in primary school enrollment (as recommended by the Addis Ababa conference) and population growth of about 3%, universal primary education would never be achieved.

A statistical review of enrollments of primary school-age children in Africa by Fredriksen (1978) indicated that:

- In most developing countries, the population of school-age children grows at a greater pace than capacity to enroll them in schools -- a fact that means a decline in the proportion of literates and an increase of illiterates. As François (1968) put it: "A boat sailing at five miles per hour against a wind of 10 miles per hour must but go backward."
- In 1975, developing countries could only enroll 75% of their populations, even though capacities to enroll had grown by 117%; most of the countries, from 1960 to 1975, were just taking stock, clearing backlogs, and attempting to streamline education to achieve balance and relevance.
- Fourteen of the least-developed countries would only be able to enroll about 60% of their primary-school population by 1985, and, if current practices continued to the year 2000, half of the women of childbearing age would still be illiterate.
- Demographic factors continue to condition the capacity to make primary education universal in developing countries; in Africa, 232% increment in capacity would be needed to cope with population pressures.

The mid-1970s were crucial for educational decisions, and a series of high-powered meetings provided great impetus for universal primary education in Africa, and in Tanzania in particular. For one, there was the World Bank education sector paper (IBRD 1974), which seemed to have had tremendous influence, marking changes in leading policies in favour of basic education (primary and adult education). The paper observed (IBRD 1974:4):

> In spite of the considerable efforts made by the developing countries, about half of their citizens,

> children and adults alike, are without a minimum level of education, and the prospects for the next decade are not promising. The provision of a minimum education is an essential condition for the effective participation of the masses in the development process,...as well as in social and political processes, and ensures better use of human resources.

This contention was parallel to statements of many other donor agencies and foreign governments, which, disillusioned by the 1960s' massive investments in higher education, started to reorient investment policies toward rural development, education at the base and not at the apex (Dubbeldam 1979), adult education, primary education; hence, began the rhetoric and gimmicks about meeting basic human needs in rural areas.

This reorientation was backed by international seminars such as the joint IDS (Institute of Development Studies)/Dag Hammarskjold Foundation meeting in Dar es Salaam, which adopted a slogan "Education for liberation" from Nyerere (1981f) and stated (IDS/Dag Hammarskjold Foundation 1974:6):

> ...democratization and universalization of educational systems is defined as the existence of a state organizational structure in which equal opportunity in education is guaranteed and which brings education through its various types, levels, and forms to the entire population. This structure must constitute an objective for all states, based on the recognition that education is the right of everyone and a prerequisite for the nation's socio-economic development.

The attitude had not changed since the Addis Ababa conference in 1961, but the situation had become desperate, and the Bucharest World Population Conference (Unesco 1977a:12) had concluded:

> ...the projections presented here suggest that the large majority of developing countries will not reach universal primary education by 1985...a combination of even greater efforts and more imaginative interventions in the conservative practices of educational systems would appear to be required for many developing countries to reach the targets.

There are no comprehensive reviews about the universalization of primary education in different African countries; however, the statistics (Table 3) and extracts of statements of intentions published by Unesco (1977b) provide some idea of the way things probably are in selected countries. In the mid-1970s, the activities seem to have been largely theoretical. In Ethiopia, the oldest kingdom, in 1976, a Ten Year Frame Plan for educational development was adopted, with an explicit objective to give or promote "...universal primary education within the shortest period of time commensurate with resources and meeting demands from other aspects of education" (Unesco 1977b:20). One could hardly be more vague, and no follow-up data are available. One would expect, though, that the current, progressive regime has taken some action.

In Ghana, the 1975-80 development guidelines have as one objective (Unesco 1977b:24), "...to progressively increase the intake of

Table 3. Enrollment percentages by age groups (Unesco 1977b).

	6-11 years				12-17 years				18-29 years				6-29 years			
	1960	1965	1970	1972	1960	1965	1970	1972	1960	1965	1970	1972	1960	1965	1970	1972
Upper Volta	6.7	9.7	9.9	10.6	2.4	3.8	4.5	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2	2.8	4.1	4.6	4.7
Niger	4.4	8.0	10.9	11.7	1.7	3.5	4.5	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.9	3.8	4.8	5.2
Somalia	4.0	4.3	4.5	7.4	2.7	5.0	6.2	8.2	0.6	1.0	1.8	2.2	2.3	3.2	3.9	5.6
Ethiopia	4.1	5.9	9.7	10.9	5.3	7.2	11.4	12.9	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.9	2.6	4.4	6.3	7.3
Mauritania	4.7	7.8	11.4	13.1	3.9	6.7	9.2	11.4	0.2	0.4	0.9	1.0	2.8	4.0	6.5	7.4
Mali	8.6	16.3	16.1	17.1	2.3	7.4	14.8	15.2	0.1	0.5	1.2	1.3	3.4	7.4	9.6	10.1
Chad	9.9	21.4	23.3	24.1	5.7	11.1	10.4	10.3	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.4	4.9	10.2	10.2	10.3
Gambia	10.1	18.8	22.0	23.6	5.5	8.1	11.9	13.2	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	4.5	7.9	9.9	10.9
Burundi	17.2	24.2	27.7	25.7	4.0	6.9	9.9	9.8	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	6.6	9.6	11.5	11.0
Guinea	16.4	25.3	26.3	23.5	5.7	10.1	16.0	17.2	0.4	0.8	2.2	2.9	6.8	11.0	13.5	13.3
Sudan	12.0	14.7	24.5	29.5	8.8	9.7	13.8	17.0	0.9	1.1	1.8	2.3	6.7	7.9	12.5	15.3
Benin	19.1	25.8	31.6	35.1	9.0	11.9	13.5	16.2	0.3	0.6	1.0	1.5	8.2	11.1	13.4	15.3
Nigeria	32.0	28.3	29.6	33.7	13.3	12.7	14.2	15.8	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.0	14.0	12.7	13.7	15.7
Tanzania	16.5	25.0	24.9	28.2	14.1	19.3	18.1	19.6	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.6	9.5	13.7	13.5	15.8
Mozambique	51.2	33.7	31.6	34.3	5.9	9.7	13.2	12.1	0.2	0.4	0.9	1.2	12.6	11.4	14.5	16.2
Sierra Leone	15.0	22.1	26.9	27.3	13.4	18.2	20.7	20.7	0.5	1.0	1.9	2.1	8.6	12.3	14.9	16.7
Guinea-Bissau	18.2	19.2	34.5	41.6	8.3	7.8	14.2	15.7	0.3	0.2	1.1	1.0	7.7	7.8	14.3	17.0
Senegal	16.5	25.0	26.6	28.7	14.1	23.1	27.6	29.9	1.0	2.2	3.6	4.0	9.4	15.0	17.4	18.8
Angola	12.5	24.1	43.7	50.4	3.8	7.4	13.4	15.9	0.3	0.6	1.2	1.5	5.0	9.7	17.5	20.2
Morocco	34.2	40.6	34.0	34.7	13.7	23.6	24.6	24.6	0.5	0.8	1.8	2.0	15.1	19.4	20.3	20.7
Rwanda	48.7	48.7	57.9	55.3	13.6	15.0	14.3	13.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	19.7	21.7	24.1	21.9
Liberia	18.6	24.2	31.9	35.2	16.2	23.2	31.3	35.9	0.5	1.1	1.7	2.2	10.3	14.2	19.0	21.9

continued

Table 3. (concluded)

	6-11 years				12-17 years				18-29 years				6-29 years			
	1960	1965	1970	1972	1960	1965	1970	1972	1960	1965	1970	1972	1960	1965	1970	1972
Malawi	29.3	32.3	28.0	33.5	30.8	33.4	32.5	42.1	0.2	0.7	0.8	1.0	17.4	19.5	18.2	22.8
Central African Empire	22.7	42.3	55.1	60.3	12.2	18.8	22.8	23.0	0.2	0.4	0.6	1.2	10.5	18.6	23.7	25.8
Kenya	34.3	41.8	52.4	62.0	27.8	29.9	33.5	32.1	0.4	0.9	1.9	2.3	19.2	22.4	27.2	26.9
Botswana	16.8	34.8	42.4	41.5	32.7	45.7	40.8	37.5	2.4	3.5	3.1	2.4	15.0	25.8	29.1	27.3
Uganda	30.4	44.4	52.5	57.2	24.5	30.6	32.3	29.5	0.6	0.8	1.7	1.8	16.8	23.1	26.5	27.4
Ivory Coast	32.5	45.3	54.3	56.6	17.3	22.8	35.4	40.7	0.4	0.9	2.3	3.0	14.9	20.5	27.6	30.3
Togo	30.8	40.1	55.6	65.1	15.8	21.1	23.6	31.6	0.6	1.1	1.6	2.2	14.6	19.4	25.2	30.7
Madagascar	34.0	45.3	62.1	65.2	23.1	31.8	31.7	31.5	0.7	1.7	2.4	2.5	17.6	25.0	29.7	30.7
Zaire	45.8	52.3	63.3	62.6	18.8	23.4	36.6	40.1	0.3	0.6	1.4	1.5	20.1	23.6	31.1	31.7
Equatorial Guinea	58.2	82.3	65.3	70.4	24.0	35.7	35.7	39.5	0.4	1.2	2.5	2.3	21.5	31.6	29.5	33.1
Algeria	36.3	53.0	58.4	67.5	18.6	25.3	29.9	32.9	1.0	1.1	2.1	2.9	17.3	25.5	29.7	34.1
Ghana	33.4	66.8	52.9	49.1	28.7	50.0	54.6	52.8	4.5	4.8	5.7	5.8	20.0	37.7	35.4	34.2
Egypt	60.5	69.9	66.4	66.2	19.3	26.3	32.2	36.3	3.4	5.1	7.0	7.9	25.9	31.6	32.9	34.3
Cameroon	45.2	60.8	69.7	70.8	32.0	38.3	37.4	36.4	0.8	1.7	2.6	2.9	21.0	31.0	32.2	35.6
Lesotho	50.5	63.5	66.7	62.6	61.8	65.7	65.9	63.0	4.2	3.5	2.5	1.8	33.9	38.6	38.9	36.6
Zambia	42.0	50.5	63.5	64.6	13.8	24.7	50.3	53.1	0.1	0.6	1.4	1.7	17.9	23.6	32.9	38.3
Swaziland	38.9	47.1	56.4	59.1	30.5	43.0	52.6	54.7	1.8	2.6	5.1	7.4	22.4	28.9	36.9	39.4
Tunisia	50.3	68.9	75.5	72.5	32.7	43.5	49.7	39.6	1.4	3.1	7.0	8.2	26.3	39.1	45.4	40.8
Mauritius	86.9	88.7	97.8	98.9	36.9	37.4	40.5	45.3	1.9	2.8	4.7	4.4	41.3	43.4	45.3	45.6
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	40.3	43.5	46.7	54.9	13.6	16.5	19.0	22.4	3.1	4.6	6.7	8.1	21.9	28.9	42.8	53.5
Congo	53.8	79.8	94.5	100.0	28.9	44.3	60.4	69.5	0.6	1.7	3.5	6.3	25.2	37.8	47.3	54.3
Gabon	69.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	33.8	56.2	92.4	96.9	0.8	1.6	2.8	4.8	29.2	42.3	58.2	65.4

children of school going age so that by the end of the plan period, every child of school going age has access to at least basic formal education." Again, for a country that started to universalize primary education in 1951, this long period of inactivity provides good insight into the difficulties in the exercise, compounded by political instability.

In Liberia, the oldest independent country, the 1976-85 education plan stipulates: "...the goal of elementary school is to obtain universal literacy, numeracy, and socio-economic understanding so as to enable the individual to work not only to better his [or her] own life but also to contribute to the growth and advancement of society" (Unesco 1977b:35). It is not clear now what the new regime is doing with this plan, but the previously less-privileged groups are likely now to have better access to educational opportunities, although the educational efforts are undoubtedly conditioned by the resources available and their distribution.

Malawi was characteristically conservative, stating in its 1973-80 education plan: "...the specific objective of primary education is to raise the national enrolment ratio from the present 33.5 percent to 50 percent in 1980" (Unesco 1977b:43).

Sierra Leone reflected ambivalence in its 1974-79 national development plan, positing that, in primary education, "...the ultimate aim is to provide free primary school facilities for every child. The Government will therefore continue to open new primary schools to ensure that primary education is more easily available throughout the country...fees may be reduced, entry age raised from 5 to 6 years."

Kenya included universal primary education in the 1979-83 development plan, specifying (Kenya, Government of, no date):

> The objectives of this plan period are to provide universal primary education of seven years free of charge to all children of primary school age, and to enhance the quality of this seven year primary education through the provision of qualified teachers, suitable instructional materials, and changes in the curriculum.

The age of entry is 6 years, and the age cohort is, thus, 6-12 years. The statement in the plan reflects Kenya's traditional, evolutionary approach, which Hyden (1979) calls "We Must Pull While Others Pause" as contrasted with Tanzania's revolutionary approach: "We Must Run While Others Walk."

Nigeria, the richest and most populous country in Africa, declared three times that its intentions were to introduce universal primary education (Wilson 1978). In 1954, the Western State declared this goal; in 1956 the Eastern State followed suit, but the data in 1976 showed that enrollment ranged from 10% in the north to 75% in the southwest (Hawes 1979). Then, in 1973 and 1974, General Gowon announced a policy for universal primary education, but the policy was never implemented because the 1973 census data were not politically acceptable as a basis for resource allocation and planning. Finally, in 1976, General Obasanjo formally inaugurated the program of universalization of primary education to be achieved by 1982. The equity rationale was embedded in the 1975-80 development plan. The

1976 declaration came very close in time to the Third Education Ministers Conference, which was held in Lagos, Nigeria, and which reviewed achievements on the basis of Unesco's findings (1977b). The 35 countries that had attended the 1961 Addis Ababa conference fell short of their targets for enrollment by a stark 11.1 million pupils. The total primary-school enrollment translated into a shortfall of 26.5% for those 35 countries and 33.8% for all 44 countries attending the Lagos conference.

The Lagos conference reiterated the conviction that access to education was every person's right and that universal enrollment was the objective of all African countries, an objective that the ministers conceded could not be achieved at the same time in all the countries. The conference urged vigorous strides in quantitative expansion in line with the Addis Ababa conference and in qualitative improvement. The conference noted with satisfaction that budgetary allocations sometimes amounted to 30% of total national budgets and that education was forming an integral and central component of national political, economic, social, and cultural development plans and policies.

Many of the African countries had adopted an evolutionary approach to universal primary education, whereas Tanzania had embarked on a revolutionary approach. The remaining sections of this work review and discuss the Tanzanian case.

Tanzania

Although the decision in 1974 to universalize primary education in Tanzania by 1977 received inspiration and impetus from the mid-1970s' debates and the euphoria regarding the centrality of basic education in national development, it had roots in the distributive ideology and policies of the ruling Party. The political party that led the struggle for the country to independence in 1961 (TANU: Tanganyika African National Union) had, early in 1955 after its formation in 1954, created and organized a parents' association, Tanganyika African Parents Association (TAPA), which had two functions (Omari 1968):

- To champion the cause for expanded educational opportunities for African children. The colonial educational policies had produced a three-tiered system of education: one tier for Africans, another for Indians, and another for Europeans with opportunities in the ratio 1:3:6. Thus, TAPA was fighting not only for expanded educational opportunities for Africans but also for a fundamental principle of equality of educational opportunities among groups, in this case racial groups.
- To operate officially as a nonpolitical, social organization but unofficially as an undercover agent for TANU to keep the struggle for independence alive (Omari 1972) if the militant party's survival were threatened.

Recently, Manongi (1980:1) captured these twin roles in retrospect when he said:

> As the right hand organ of TANU, WAZAZI (TAPA) played a leading role in the Pre-independence fight for equal educational opportunities among the European, Asian, and African races. While TANU was fighting for political Independence, the major role of "WAZAZI" was more educational in the sense that the organization was

fighting for equal opportunities and accessibility to educational facilities for African children.

It is self-evident that one cannot separate the struggle for political independence from the struggle for equal opportunities for Africans, and reviews of the period (Omari 1968, 1972) clearly demonstrate the complementarity of the two struggles in the ultimate achievement of political independence. In fact, one can argue that the existence of TAPA kept, and still keeps, education as a central element in Party politics in Tanzania. By 1959, TAPA had 2009 pupils; in 1961, 20 500; and in 1962, 40 000; by the time universal primary education was declared in Tanzania, TAPA had 2000 primary schools, with a total of about 150 000 pupils. These figures are additional to those resulting from attempts to create middle schools and secondary schools, all of which constantly popularized education and reminded the Party of their mutual struggles before independence.

The colonial period in Tanzania was marked by neglect of education. Only 16.5% of the native peoples were enrolled in 1960 (Table 3). In 1947, enrollment was 10%, and the 1947-56 Ten Year Education Plan had aimed at achieving an enrollment of 36% (Cameron and Dodd 1970). The aim was, obviously, not to provide universal education but to create an elite, groomed to collaborate with the colonial apparatus. The coming of independence in 1961 did not change the educational situation at the base. The concentration of bourgeois economists within the productive sectors led to negligence of the expansion of primary education. Thus, the first development plan, 1961-64, which was termed a transition plan for the changeover from the colonial administration to the new national administration did not include primary education expansion. Rather, the plan aimed at "...a concentration on economic projects which would yield the quickest and highest returns in the near future," emphasizing communications, power, public works, and agriculture. In education, the emphasis was to increase the number of secondary-school places and expand technical training facilities. The first 5-year development plan, 1964-69, again did not touch on the expansion of primary education, the concentration still being on secondary and higher education, guided by human-resources plans, which have become notorious in developing countries for not ever being realized. The 1960s economists should be called upon to answer the question of what productive activities could take place when most people are illiterate (Malima 1979:46). Bennett (1972:15) characterized the attitudes:

> Education was considered by the Tanzanian planners not as a social investment but as a necessary infrastructural investment. Thus the expansion of primary education (in the past considered as not producing definite returns in itself) was to be held back as much as possible.

The first two development plans proved to be an embarrassment, especially when juxtaposed with other revolutionary regimes' first plans, which called for universal primary education immediately (China, Korea, Cuba, Albania, and Russia). They are particularly contradictory in the context of the 1971 Party guidelines (Mwongozo 1971), which stipulated: "...any action which enables the people to decide for themselves all matters affecting their lives and destiny is an act of development, even if such action does not immediately and visibly improve their health and material well-being."

The period between 1961 and 1969 was marked by structural and qualitative improvements in the primary-school sector, with the climax being the adoption of a policy on education for self-reliance, but the period had its oscillations. Initially, primary education was to be for 8 years, but, in 1964, it was decided to have a 7-year primary cycle and to abolish the entry examinations characteristic of the 4- and 6-year selective cycles of the colonial period. This decision meant great expansion of the number of pupils who stayed in school for a full cycle of 7 years, but the percentage of school-age children entering grade 1 remained static because of population growth rates (Wizara 1979). This fact was acknowledged in the second 5-year development plan, 1969-74, which observed:

> ...because of financial constraints and the overriding priority given to expansion of secondary and higher education, it was not possible to provide for any significant relative expansion of Std. 1 primary school enrollment....Because of population growth, the absolute numbers enrolled in Std. 1 showed an increase from 140,000 in 1964 to around 163,000 in 1969.

The numbers of children enrolled had grown approximately 1.2% in a population growing at about 3%. Although in absolute figures there was an increment in the country's capacity to enroll grade-1 pupils and some advancement was made (Wizara 1979) compared with targets set by the Addis Ababa conference, great differentials existed by regions and districts in the ability to enroll children (Tables 4 and 5). Thus, Kilimanjaro was reported to have enrolled 75% of required enrollments, whereas Singida enrolled 31% only in the 1969-74 plan period (Tanzania, Government of 1976:79). The period also saw the abolition of school fees, the abolition of private primary schools, especially denominational schools, and the abolition of the segregated educational system. More significantly, a qualitative thrust came about with the publication of Education for Self Reliance (Nyerere 1967). Quantitative expansion of primary education virtually stopped because educators became preoccupied with implementing the new policy, which emphasized relevance and students' participation in both mental and menial activities as well as in school management and administration. The whole educational bureaucracy was so engrossed in this policy, its implementation, and the publicity surrounding it that it was not until Nyerere's 1974 Musoma resolution (Nyerere 1981f), announcing universalization of primary education in 3 years, that primary-school expansion began again.

However, the lull in expansion of primary education does not mean that the ruling Party and especially its leader, President J.K. Nyerere, were oblivious to the issues surrounding universalization of primary education and the ideological predicament and contradictions that the Party was facing. Nyerere was particularly disturbed by the clamour of the national petty bourgeoisie and the intellectual and political elite for expansion of secondary schools to obviate the problem of what to do with primary-school leavers.

On 4 May 1967, Nyerere (1981c) observed in a meeting with all teachers in Tabora that people were panicking about the 50 000 pupils who had finished primary school in 1966 and of whom only about 6500 obtained secondary places. He was distinctly disappointed that the expansion in primary education viewed with pride by the government was being called a problem by the bourgeoisie and was the source of agitation for more secondary-school expansion. Nyerere refused to see

Table 4. Numbers of children enrolled in grade 1 by regions (Tanzania, Government of 1976).

	Pupils in grade 1 in 1969	New plan target or estimates 1974	Actual 1974	Increase	1975	1976	Difference between target and actual
Arusha	7189	10416	11090	3901	19014	23524	674
Dodoma	8929	11687	14785	5856	33014	40414	3098
Iringa	7789	11340	12727	4938	21962	15858	1377
Kigoma	5294	7695	9752	4458	29830	35918	2057
Kilimanjaro	14720	16618	19743	5022	27609	17305	3124
Lindi	--	--	9434	--	17514	--	--
Mara	7741	9832	12074	4333	29220	32722	2242
Mbeya	11108	15702	20154	9046	26204	37313	4452
Morogoro	8874	11482	13097	4205	16106	25378	2415
Mtwara	13253	17975	14340	1087	36608	27191	3635
Mwanza	12083	16258	16564	4481	31676	52564	306
Coast	9524	13670	15530	6006	15361	20151	1860
Ruvuma	6725	8415	10851	4136	21606	17905	2436
Shinyanga	8229	12167	12016	3787	21882	32891	151
Singida	6819	8020	10741	3922	21323	17696	2721
Tabora	7013	9132	9396	2383	23679	24626	264
Tanga	11886	15032	18846	6960	25113	32742	3814
West Lake	10810	12909	15706	4896	25976	27875	2797
Dar-es-Salaam	--	--	--	--	11967	15636	--
Rukwa	--	--	--	--	11081	16969	--

the primary-school leavers as a problem. He saw them as a problem only in the minds of people in the transition from elite to mass education and a pretext for furtherance of vested interests. He called for a change in attitudes in a nationwide broadcast to boost

Table 5. Numbers of school-age (5-14 years) children actually enrolled as a ratio of capacity for enrollment by district.

District	Ratio	District	Ratio	District	Ratio
Arusha	0.782	Mara	1.120	Rukwa	1.007
Arusha (U)	0.784	Musoma (U)	1.220	Sumbawanga (U)	1.056
Arumeru	0.903	Musoma (R)	--	Sumbawanga (R)	--
Hanang	0.644	Tarime	1.115	Mpanda	0.916
Kiteto	0.807	Serengeti	1.125	Nkasi	--
Mbulu	0.891				
Monduli	0.582	Mbeya	1.114	Ruvuma	1.078
		Mbeya (U)	1.021	Songea (U)	1.047
Dar es Salaam	0.840	Mbeya (R)	0.821	Songea (R)	--
Ilala	1.045	Chunya	1.407	Mbinga	1.136
Kinondoni	0.812	Ileje	1.094	Tunduru	1.042
Temeke	0.707	Kyela	1.232		
		Mbozi	1.048	Shinyanga	0.781
Dodoma	0.985	Rungwe	1.347	Shinyanga (U)	0.873
Dodoma (U)	1.020			Shinyanga (R)	0.808
Dodoma (R)	0.980	Morogoro	0.996	Bariadi	0.777
Kondoa	0.980	Morogoro (U)	0.799	Kahama	0.716
Mpwapwa	0.976	Morogoro (R)	0.977	Maswa	0.798
		Kiloso	0.948		
Iringa	1.052	Kilombero	0.941	Singida	0.933
Iringa (U)	0.926	Ulanga	0.042	Singida (U)	0.971
Iringa (R)	1.048			Iramba	0.885
Lundewa	1.115	Mtwara	1.067	Manyoni	1.074
Mufindi	0.984	Mtwara (U)	0.756		
Njombe	1.096	Mtwara (R)	0.901	Tabora	0.841
Makete	--	Masasi	0.290	Tabora (U)	1.085
		Newala	1.132	Tabora (R)	0.929
Kigoma	1.052			Igunda	0.962
Kigoma (U)	0.996	Mwanza	0.949	Nzega	0.790
Kigoma (R)	0.920	Mwanza	0.870	Urambo	0.659
Kasulu	1.039	Magu	0.946		
Kibondo	1.028	Kwimba	0.881	Tanga	0.953
		Geita	0.889	Tanga (U)	0.938
Kilimanjaro	1.189	Sengerema	1.060	Muheza	1.014
Moshi (U)	1.189	Ukerewe	1.060	Lushoto	0.914
Moshi (R)	1.136	Musingwi	--	Pangani	1.122
Hai	1.077			Handeni	0.914
Pare	1.199	Pwani	1.130	Korogwe	0.926
Rombo	1.164	Bagamoyo	1.179		
		Kisarawe	1.172	Ziwa Magharibi	0.899
Lindi	1.022	Kibaha	--	Bukoba (UR)	0.914
Lindi (U)	0.847	Mafia	0.956	Bukoba (R)	0.856
Lindi (R)	0.845	Rufiji	1.035	Karagwe	0.848
Kilwa	0.914			Ngara	1.118
Nachingwea	0.949			Biharamulo	0.838
Liwale	1.234			Muleba	0.926

[a]U=urban; R=rural.

the policy of education for self-reliance. He called upon parents to employ their children in normal rural activities and challenged teachers to prepare children for these activities. He said, in effect, "...primary education is not preparation for secondary education but a preparation for life."

In another meeting 10 days later in Mbeya, after repeating much of what he had said at Tabora, Nyerere was explicit in his conviction that there was something anomalous in the development of the education system. Showing his dismay, he said (1981b):

> Today in our country we do not have enough funds but in the last six years we have expanded primary education very much. However, until now, besides Tukuyu and Kilimanjaro, in many parts of our country,...half of the school going age children do not enter primary school. We do not have money. We do not have teachers for these children. Half of our children cannot enter school? Nineteen Sixty Seven? But this is not our concern. We are stressing more secondary schools. This is stupid thinking. We are capitulating to the silly Biblical contention that "the one who has, more will be added into his lots and the one who has nothing, even that which he has will be taken away from him." This is the meaning of the pressure to increase secondary school rather than primary school places....We must think in terms of expanding primary schools so that soon we achieve Universal Primary Education.

His concerns for universal primary-school education were finally institutionalized in the Second Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1969-74, which among other things had the following aims:

- To achieve full sufficiency at all skill levels in the economy by 1980;
- To give every Tanzania child a basic education (primary) as soon as the financial circumstances of government permitted, which was perceived to be 1989;
- To expand secondary, technical, and university education according to labour requirements; and
- To eliminate progressively the examination required for children to continue schooling after grade 4.

The plan merely reflected a theoretical compromise of diverse interests; it set specific targets, and, although it did not separate increments necessary to accommodate population increase, it acknowledged the additional needs (Tanzania, Government of 1969:149):

> During the Second Five Year Plan, it is proposed to effect progressive increases in Std. 1 enrolments, taking into account not only the population growth (estimated at 2.7 percent per annum 1967 to 1975, 3 percent from 1975 to 1980, and 3.3 percent from 1980 to 1985) but also to increase the relative percent of the primary age group for which primary education can be provided from rather less than 50 percent in 1969 to Universal Primary Entry by 1989.

A comparison of the planned and actual enrollment (Table 6) in

Table 6. Comparison of planned and actual expansion in (grade-1) enrollment.

Year	Planned expansion[a]			Actual expansion		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1969-70	100384	71101	171485	na[b]	na	172986[c]
1973-74	119282	89088	203088	na	na	247627[c]
1978-79	154385	124367	278752	278021[d]	265162[d]	543183[d]
1983-84	221639	198480	420119	--	--	--
1988-89	325661	326986	652647	--	--	--

[a] Figures come from the second 5-year development plan (Tanzania, Government of 1969).
[b] na = not available.
[c] This figure comes from The Economic Survey (Tanzania, Government of 1979); figures published in Wizara (1979), were 181317 for 1969-70 and 226071 for 1973-74.
[d] This figure was taken from the budget speech (Siwale 1980-81); it needs to be adjusted by about 10% to allow for wastage.

grade 1 is worthwhile; targets were surpassed at every stage, and total figures for actual grade-1 enrollment in 1977-78 and 1978-79, according to the budget speech (Siwale 1980) were 523 508 (284 446 boys, 239 062 girls) and 855 560 (447 352 boys, 408 208 girls) respectively. The figures cited in The Economic Survey for those years were 848 293 and 947 800, respectively -- an indication of the difficulty in collecting reliable figures. Even the lower figures should be adjusted by 10% to allow for wastage.

These impressive increases were possible because the government relied heavily on local self-help schemes. The second 5-year plan noted (Tanzania, Government of 1969:149):

> Increase at Standard 1...involves heavy...costs, particularly in the recurrent budget, both in the coming Plan and in subsequent Plans. In order to achieve these targets, maximum use is to be made of self-help efforts in the construction of school buildings. Also steps are to be taken to ensure that recurrent costs per student are kept at a minimum.

These conditions shattered central initiatives toward universal primary education, and the relegation of the initiatives to local self-help schemes had two related consequences:

- The rate of expansion differed from one district, region, locality to another (Mwampeta 1980), and, as Samoff (1979) showed, the advanced areas still managed to excel. Thus, inequalities increased despite differential allocation of resources by levels of development of the regions.
- The quality of primary education has remained relatively low, and children of the urban and middle class families excel while poor children whose families cannot provide enrichment materials stagnate and are squeezed out of the system at an early age.

Ziogas (no date) estimated that about 1900 grade-1 units would be required during the 1969-74 plan period, which would have cost the

central government Shs 121.2 million for building materials and skilled labour. All unskilled labour was to be locally contributed, including mobilization of resources for development and organization of local building materials. As Mwampeta (1980) observed, there were such great differences in motivation for expansion of education that it was almost futile to bank on voluntary labour in all areas. Having to depend on the wealth and motivation of communities, coupled with the decentralization exercise in 1972 and problems of plan implementation, placed a downward regulator on the government's drive toward universal primary school.

Political oscillations also affected the speed at which the country moved toward the goal. Although universal primary education was part of the campaign for Education for Self-Reliance and was institutionalized in the second 5-year plan, 1970 was declared Adult Education Year (Nyerere 1973, 1981a), and financial, as well as human and psychological, resources, were diverted to adult-education programs aimed at eradication of illiteracy in 3 years (Nyerere 1977). Adult education began to take precedence and, today, completely outweighs primary education in the budget of the Ministry of National Education. One wonders how priorities are set, as the implementation of universal primary education was shelved. As Kuhanga (1978:44) noted in retrospect: "...the adult education movement would have been incomplete without a parallel policy of universal primary education....Almost half of our children would grow up to swell the ranks of the illiterate adults." The universalization of adult education before primary education is analogous to the ignorant man who spent hours trying to dry up the pond while the tap was on. There is little evidence that literacy and numeracy competence is much use to half of those involved in such learning at an advanced age (UNDP/Unesco 1976). Iraq (Iraq, Government of 1980) and Vietnam (Vietnam, Ministry of Education 1979) regrettably fell into the same trap, although China and Russia did not. Thus, subjective judgment is involved.

The ideological and practical oscillations have continued. Nyerere kept the theme of universalization of primary education alive and was the spokesman for universal adult education during the celebrations of Ten Years of Independence (1971) in which former colonial officers and other friendly foreigners participated (Nyerere 1981a). In his report to the Party on the occasion, he (1971) made remarks about universal primary education, giving costs as the reason for the stalemate without underscoring the fact that the adult-education campaigns also involved tremendous costs. Without being categorical as to when primary education would be universal, he (Nyerere 1971:29-33) lectured to the National Conference delegates' meeting in Dar es Salaam:

> In a socialist country, universal primary education would be provided for all children, and post-primary education would be readily available to all who could benefit from it, however old they may be....The poverty of Tanzania does not allow for the kind of expenditure which would be necessary for such universal services, however much we would like them....although we are working towards universal primary education, we cannot make available at public expense "education for educations sake" beyond that level (i.e., primary). We have provided school places for only about 52 percent of the children of primary

> school age -- that is how far we are from our objective of universal primary school education! And it is absurd to think that passing resolutions at TANU Conferences, or asking questions in Parliament can solve this problem. There is no short and simple answer to it. Yet it would be criminal if we allowed our failure to be enveloped in a cloud of self congratulation about what we have achieved in education. Those children without school places must remain a real challenge to us for the future.

This speech provided the prelude to the Musoma resolution (Nyerere 1981f) on universal primary education, which was exactly the approach Nyerere had called absurd. That is, it was a resolution of a TANU National Executive meeting passed 4 November 1974 at Musoma; it caught all educators -- except political insiders -- unaware, as if it had been a budget secret or Price Commission announcement. The global context of this resolution needs to be reviewed now.

Musoma Resolution

From the events leading up to the Musoma resolution, no one could have predicted the manner and the timing of what it called for: the universalization of primary education in Tanzania. Of particular interest was the lack of feasibility studies on how and when universal primary education could be achieved, despite the political pronouncements regarding its inevitability. This, in the context of socialist revolution, may reflect a classic clash between the ideologies of the political elite and the bureaucratic elite. In a review of various socialist revolutions, Chernik (1979) points out the centrality of education in socialist transformations and shows that the universalization of primary education was declared immediately after the political revolution in Russia, Albania, Cuba, Vietnam, China, and Korea. In Tanzania, it was 13 years after independence before concrete steps to universalize primary education were taken. This delay was a reflection of an apparent contradiction or inconsistency between the political ideology and practical action.

The impetus for the resolution can only be understood from an examination of the ideological and educational debates of the late 1960s and early 1970s and an examination of the Musoma resolution itself. The four main thrusts of the document (Nyerere 1981f) were that there would be:

- Universalizaton of primary education;
- No direct entry to university studies;
- Schooling that combined mental and menial labour; and
- A shift away from "ambush" examinations.

These four thrusts were central to the Cultural Revolution in China, one of the countries to which Tanzania sent several high-powered delegations (university dons, Party officials, and ministry bureaucrats) to study educational experiences. The tyranny of ambush examinations was articulated and denounced by the late Mao Tse-tung during his address to the 1965 schoolchildren spring festivals (Mao 1974). The issues of university-entry qualifications, combination of mental and menial labour, and universalization of education in general were part of the famous 1971 Chinese document called the Two Estimates (Zachariah 1979). There is no doubt that the experiments in China fed into the preparations of the Musoma

resolution in 1974 and, thus, became one of the precipitating ideological factors for universalization of primary education.

The second precipitating factor -- perhaps central -- was the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation meeting: Education, Training, and Alternatives in Education in African Countries, which was hosted by Tanzania in May 1974. During that meeting, President Nyerere gave a keynote speech on education for liberation. The meeting resolved that the universalization of basic education should be a top priority in African countries.

In the search for local legitimacy, two practical factors have been deduced as contributing to the resolution. First is Kuhanga's (1978:44) contention, cited earlier, that an adult-education movement would be incomplete without a parallel policy of universal primary education. Second, and this factor is contained in the resolution itself, is the effort to organize people into collective villages in the rural areas. Using this transformation, started in the late 1960s, the Musoma resolution concluded (Nyerere 1981f):

> Consequential upon the coming together of people in planned villages, the need for school places has increased spectacularly; every parent...wants his [or her] child to obtain a place at the village school..., and...there will be no justification for only a few of the children in the village to be given places while the rest are left out. Hence the National Executive Committee is duty bound to give appropriate guidance to the Government on how to handle this problem.
>
> Accordingly, it is hereby resolved that within... three years..., by November 1977, arrangements must be completed which will enable every child of school age to obtain a place in a primary school.

The political elite, meeting in Musoma, was not oblivious to the problems regarding the number of classrooms, preparation of teachers, teachers' accommodation, etc. that would result from the resolution. (Unfortunately, nothing was said about school learning and teaching technologies.) However, like any other politically motivated decisions, the resolution, which was inspired by the apparent success of the universalization of adult education, did not deal with the economic rationalizations and implications. Instead, the Party recommended revolutionary changes in the system and practices of education to include use of double sessions, use of older students to teach younger ones, and use of secondary-school pupils to teach in primary schools. In a classic case of what Hyden (1979) called the refusal to use rational analysis of the adequacy of existing resources as a precondition for making policies in Tanzania, the Party concluded (Nyerere 1981f:181) that there must be many alternatives that do not necessitate large investments but that achieve similar results in education. The conclusion was a challenge to the Ministry of National Education as the implementing agency. An examination of how the exercise has been carried out so far is warranted.

Implementation

Hyden (1979) characterized the style of policy formulation in Tanzania: "a policy decision is made under dramatic conditions to produce a sense of rapid advance." On 5 February 1975, the President (Nyerere 1981e) addressed the nation when he talked to all the

teachers in Dar es Salaam and discussed the Musoma resolution. He reviewed previous educational policies, which had given high priority to higher education at the expense of primary education, and noted that the proportion of children going to school had remained at about 54% of school-age children, whereas the absolute number of children not going to school was increasing.

In Nyerere's (1980e:193) words:

> Tanzania of 1975, 46 percent of the children cannot go to school...and perhaps with no hope of going to school in the near future. For how long shall we continue like this?...Everytime we suggest universalization of primary education we pick up our pen and paper and the calculations of expenses frighten us. We are frightened by the costs of educating all our children.

Whether or not the Musoma meeting used the World Bank (IBRD 1976) calculations of the costs (Shs 3.4 billion) of realizing universal primary education in Tanzania is not clear. In a primarily peasant economy, however, this amount of public expenditure would make any technocrat recoil and say, "impossible." Yet, politically, there was no going back on the policy. The politicians had done their job to inform the public and to guide the bureaucrats. It just resembled the Soviet Union's position during the Second World War when technocrats had suggested that universalization of education programs be shelved and that the country concentrate on war efforts. The Communist Party retorted, "To think this way means to see no further than one's nose, and not to live in the interest of our homeland....All children of school age should be enrolled, and this should be carried out conscientiously despite all the problems of war time" (Chernik 1979:111). As a result, in Russia, universal, compulsory education became regarded as a major problem for the government because of its tremendous political, economic, and defence significance during and after the war. In Tanzania, the war in 1974 was against a famine caused by a drought. That the war did not deter the political decision, underscores Hyden's (1979) contention that political policy decisions are normally not made in the context of economic rationalities.

The World Bank document (IBRD 1976) was probably commissioned by the Ministry of National Education to form the basis for a search for external funding for universalization of primary education rather than as a basis for the Musoma meeting, but the participants at the meeting seem to have been interested in what Unesco (1974) called more imaginative interventions than the traditional evolutionary approach to universal primary education. In Nyerere's meeting with all teachers in the Dar es Salaam region, which was broadcast live, he explained that, in fact, some National Executive members at Musoma had wanted to declare 1975 Universalization Year in which all children would be enrolled and that 1977 was a big concession from the members. There was, thus, no going back. To cut costs, he suggested:

- Community construction of simple classrooms and houses for teachers and not "Taj-Mahals";
- Use of slates instead of paper and pencil for written work; and
- Use of grade C instead of only grade A teachers (the Ministry of National Education had decided to phase out grade C teachers in 1969), children in higher grades to teach junior grades, and

secondary-school pupils to teach in primary schools (Nyerere citing his observations during a visit to Cuba).

He also suggested training teachers for special education because handicapped children would need special services. Nyerere refused to accept that these measures would erode standards and castigated those attempting to compare educational products of the colonial period and those of the present system of education. He stated that the two were not comparable because of the rigid screening tests employed during the colonial period. According to Nyerere, the issue of falling standards was being used as a bourgeois ploy to maintain quality education for the few at the expense of the many, which was completely unacceptable in Tanzania. His words (Nyerere 1981e:203) were: "We cannot protect the excellence of education for the few by neglecting education for the majority. In Tanzania, it is a sin to do so." This analysis was in agreement with that of another great mind, from Sweden, Husen (1979), who observed that in Europe the issue of falling standards was always evoked by the middle class when there were attempts to make education more democratic and universal. However, Husen's analyses showed that mean test scores decreased with universalization as did variances, an indication that the issue needed more careful analysis than Nyerere would have liked teachers to believe, even though direct comparisons were not valid.

Before the Ministry had done anything technical for implementation of universal primary education in the country, the task had already been publicly defined by Nyerere who, in the meeting with the teachers, suggested that the 3 years allotted for universalization should not be spent in the preparation of school materials, schools, teachers' houses, and teachers but in enrolling students. This suggestion was consistent with what Hyden (1979) had concluded about policy formulation and implementation in Tanzania: that employees and bureaucrats were compelled to work in a context where public expectations exceeded what could be attained under the circumstances. The bureaucrats and employees work under heightened anxiety and insecurity, which supposedly enhance efficiency but, according to some evidence, may actually impede performance.

Planners usually use census figures to estimate the demands brought about by universalization. In Tanzania, a census had been carried out in 1967 and the next one was to be in 1977-78. This meant that the Ministry had no recent census for its projections; therefore, in August 1975, it mobilized all primary schoolteachers to conduct a mini census, or registration, of children aged 5-14 years in all localities, under the supervision of regional authorities. The Ministry of National Education set school age at 7-12 years (Siwale 1980; Tanzania, Ministry of National Education 1980). However, the Ministry of Economic Planning had set the age span at 7-13 years, with completely different estimations (Tanzania, Government of 1976:83). Which ministry actually had the authority to define school age was not clear, and, at any rate, the age data from the rural areas were unreliable because child registration was not (and is not yet) strictly enforced. The confusion was compounded by the fact that the Ministry of National Education did not precisely define year of entry. It was unclear whether children who would turn 7 years during the academic year were all to be admitted or whether they had to be 7 years old before the academic year began. Many educators and policymakers in Tanzania assumed that the older the entry age the better for self-reliance activities in schools and later; however, the assumption was never tested. In practice, middle-class children who

have had preprimary education get into primary schools at a much earlier age than do children of less-powered groups, especially in rural areas.

As soon as the exercise of registering all children was completed, the Ministry settled down to asking traditional questions, such as:

- Can the country pay for universal primary education? This question was politically illegitimate, although the bureaucrats would have said "No" if they had been given the opportunity. Their answer would have been based on economic and quantitative criteria, which are essential to the operations of a country but are conservative and, at times, must be abandoned.
- Can the system cope quantitatively? This was a question of numbers, and, no matter what the bureaucrats felt at the time, given the economic base of the country, the system, unprepared as it was, would actually double capacity and enrollments in 3 years. Enrollment (Table 7) increased from 1 874 357 to 3 414 210 between 1975-76 and 1978-79 (Mrutu 1980) or 1 106 387 in 1973 to 3 197 395 in 1979 (Siwale 1980). In 1974-75 there was already a deficit of about 10 000 teachers, based on the enrollments.
- Can the system cope qualitatively? This was a question of standards, which was brushed aside as a potential bourgeois ploy to block universalization. In view of the shortage of teachers, the quality of education could be seriously questioned.
- Are there any employment and educational opportunities for children graduating under the program of universal primary education? The major pressure would be for postprimary educational opportunities and for employment that would allow school leavers to apply their new skills, especially in rural areas.
- Is the education relevant to current and future personal and national needs? Although, in 1967, educators had been directed to make coursework relevant to a goal of self-reliance, no one had defined relevance or what would be relevant for rural living.
- Can the system reach everybody, including the handicapped, the mentally and socially retarded, and remote rural children? The system was just starting to grapple with problems of handicapped children, and Nyerere (1981e) had already publicly acknowledged the need.

The government immediately released Shs 189.5 million for the universalization of primary education. This was the single largest contribution ever made to education in the country. Each parent was to contribute Shs 20 annually for each child in school (a total Shs 59.8 million), but only 24.2% of parents actually contributed. This fee was very retrogressive because a millionnaire was expected to pay the same amount as a pauper. Another contribution was haphazardly levied, with every adult being expected to provide voluntarily money or labour for construction of teachers' houses and classrooms as well as for purchase of school materials and equipment. Again, rural peasants found it difficult to contribute, and the result was serious inequalities in school facilities in different parts of the country. Although, for other purposes -- monuments, Party buildings, roads, etc. -- all workers and business operations have been compelled to contribute 5% of their earnings, no compulsory contributions were made to the fund for a war on illiteracy. Nevertheless, the military and the National Service were mobilized to participate in the building of

Table 7. Pupils in primary schools by grade, 1979 (Siwale 1980).

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Arusha	16834	14580	25834	20282	13301	11855	11781	8745	8938	6905	5568	3913	4973	3781
Dar es Salaam (city)	10069	10575	15872	16064	7216	7893	6155	6260	5320	5360	4084	3639	4246	3511
Dar es Salaam	693	641	1287	1099	698	581	637	438	384	254	202	135	214	115
Dodoma	14394	13307	23341	21713	15317	14337	16961	15375	13985	11925	7019	5429	6552	4630
Iringa	16912	16282	36718	24567	18697	15349	15513	11669	10464	7730	6521	4860	6023	4007
Kigoma	8343	7958	13821	13104	12979	11082	7650	6944	13699	10222	5129	3224	3930	2387
Kilimanjaro	17078	16656	28985	28355	18077	17801	17383	17198	13846	13423	9755	9360	9035	8335
Lindi	7473	7035	10611	9635	8515	7575	8311	7177	7467	5777	4499	3100	3967	2393
Mara	12046	12526	18575	18444	12630	12608	15070	14064	14188	11313	7253	4792	6480	3741
Mbeya	19243	19004	32366	29573	23328	20922	17020	14706	12830	10266	8432	6100	7998	5249
Morogoro	14285	4441	25238	22702	15108	13710	12684	11633	8405	7330	7020	5256	6389	4466
Mtwara	13284	12500	15962	14656	10659	9642	11485	11123	13664	10913	6495	4626	5599	3295
Mwanza	23092	22261	38569	37520	25989	22843	24217	21045	12909	10365	9015	6624	8395	5878
Coast	8350	7788	14185	12467	12186	9934	8329	6559	6149	4283	3640	2675	3325	2106
Rukwa	7344	6980	12218	9690	8120	7006	8582	5979	5825	3904	3589	1961	2953	1462
Ruvuma	9793	8924	12547	12068	10503	9913	7955	8096	9633	8455	4892	3983	4343	3406
Shinyanga	23704	22113	41660	35554	20200	14486	18569	11820	14790	8306	7279	3235	6539	2779
Singida	8761	8451	13894	12647	7934	7769	7622	6939	9105	7397	5406	4212	4745	3448
Tabora	11074	9851	16093	13929	10715	8258	9277	7336	7554	5700	4283	2638	3793	2290
Tanga	18427	18019	24928	22637	16725	15111	14931	13474	14256	12200	8365	6738	7845	5527
Kagera	15371	14096	22975	19786	13893	12832	12687	11251	12098	11458	7355	6418	6591	5219

facilities. Nongovernmental organizations such as churches and community organizations, cooperatives, and individuals made their premises available for children to use during the initial stages. Printing facilities and transport operations were mobilized to concentrate on the activities of universalization of primary education. For instance, the university printing unit was completely taken over for almost 2 years by the Ministry to produce exercise books for primary schoolchildren.

International organizations, led by the Swedish International Development Authority, which contributed Shs 20 million the 1st year alone, made contributions for equipment, training, and materials. Total inputs from these sources have not yet been quantified.

The greatest concentration of activities was in teacher-training facilities. In this context, the Ministry, working through the regional development directors under the Prime Minister's Office, issued several directives to stimulate action and consolidate momentum. For instance, in August 1975, the Ministry issued a directive for the regions to recruit retired teachers, local educated volunteers, older children, and secondary-school pupils for teaching activities. Primary-school leavers of outstanding character and aptitude were also to be recruited for training in a program called Distance Education or Distance Teaching. This was to be an imaginative day school. It was to cost the government Shs 6300 for each student for 3 years instead of the formal institutional-based, residential program, which costs Shs 30 000 per student for 3 years. The program was to produce 40 000 additional teachers required by universalization. Recruiting was to be in three batches (1976: 15 000, 1977: 13 500, and 1978: 18 000), with some allowance for wastage (10%) (Mrutu 1980). Quality issues aside, if traditional training programs had been used, it would have taken 11 years and Shs 1.2 billion to produce 40 000 teachers, whereas this program took 6 years and Shs 252 million.

The training program had two stages and five components. The first stage was the recruitment of 2400 experienced and competent primary schoolteachers, head teachers, ward and division education officers, etc. to be coordinators. This group undertook short training courses, ranging from 1 to 4 months, in teacher-training colleges and were given some means of mobility such as bicycles or motorcycles along with training equipment such as radio cassettes, books, and paper. The second stage was recruitment of students -- primary-school leavers between 17 and 28 years old who had shown interest in teaching and community work, especially as volunteers for the universalization of adult education. Theoretically, they had to be of commendable character and had to pass a screening test and interview; however, in practice, pressure from the political, business, and professional groups led to the breakdown of the recruitment procedures so that, ultimately, the people chosen were those who knew the right people at the right time. A joke at the time was: "The most lucrative tip for a barmaid is a chance to become a UPE [universalization of primary education] teacher."

The components of the training program were:

- Correspondence courses in pedagogy, Kiswahili, mathematics, syllabus analysis, and methods of teaching;
- Face-to-face instruction three times a week for at least 3 hours with a program coordinator;

- Regular radio programs that could be taped for replay later for individual and small-group instruction;
- Teaching practice for 15-24 hours a week under the supervision of experienced teachers and program coordinators in a nearby primary school; and
- An institutionalized program in teacher-training colleges for 6 weeks to review what had been learned over the 3 years, prepare instructional materials, practice teach under supervision, and complete a written examination for certification (Kinunda et al. 1980).

Much of the training took place in primary schools, so the trainees eased the teaching load in many schools. In addition, secondary-school leavers were recruited for institutional training for 2 years to supplement the teaching staff. Furthermore, education was offered as an optional study subject for students in grades 11 and 12 so that they could immediately join the teaching profession. None of these efforts have been formally evaluated to date, but teacher-training colleges closely monitored them. Kuhanga (1978) reported a wastage of about 10% among the Distance Education trainees.

By January 1978, the program of universalization of primary education started to show signs of stress. Classrooms designed for 45 pupils were serving 80; children were attending classes under trees and sitting on the ground; newly constructed classrooms were falling apart; and some classrooms were small and hazardous. The classes and teachers that were produced for the universalization program were considered second-rate. The trainee teachers had no offices, and the established teachers began to feel threatened by the para-professionals. Discipline problems increased, with rumours about the paraprofessionals having sexual relations with their students, coming to school drunk, being given too heavy a work load, and being expected to teach the difficult classes. There was an aura of chaos mixed with enthusiasm for the experiments. Parents were complaining about "universalization of illiteracy" rather than universalization of literacy, and newspapers carried articles about the falling standards and chaos in primary schools. Yet, one might have anticipated these reactions, for doubling enrollments in 2 years is no small task.

In 1978, a compulsory-attendance law was passed by Parliament. The Ministry of National Education intervened with several injunctions (Wizara ya Elimu 1979):

- Each district must draw up explicit plans for the building of new classrooms, according to the mini census data;
- Grades 1 and 2 should be taught by trained and experienced teachers only; classes 4 and 5 may be taught by secondary-school pupils in grades 11 and 12, but grades 6 and 7 should be taught by students in grades 13 and 14;
- Unfinished classrooms should be quickly completed for use;
- Double sessions should be introduced, with pupils studying half day on a shortened syllabus;
- Classroom sizes should be about 10 m X 7 m;
- Efforts to recruit retired but able teachers should be stepped up;
- The use of secondary school leavers (grades 12-14) on a temporary basis should be increased;
- Regional coordinators should ensure that purchased equipment is immediately paid for; and
- New census figures should be used to assess successes.

Some of these directives appear to have been too late. At the end of 1978, of the 48 217 classrooms required, only 36 860 had been completed, and of the 49 605 teachers' houses required, only 14 567 had been completed, some teachers being forced to live in shanties. Of 62 707 latrines required, only 34 370 had been completed. The informed and restrained observations of the Ministry (Wizara ya Elimu 1979) concluded: "The condition of buildings is not satisfactory.... Parents should build...permanent buildings for their children. Teachers and pupils should make the environment better...." Yet, the differences in capability and motivation in and between regions made this plea somewhat unrealistic, with existing regional and local inequalities being exacerbated.

The reports on enrollments so far have been encouraging. Nyerere (1977), during the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Arusha Declaration, indicated satisfaction with both the quality of education and the numbers of children in school. It was then estimated that, by 1976-77, about 82% of all school-age children would be in schools. Again, in 1978, Nyerere (1981d) indicated that reports submitted to him showed 93% enrollment. He was very proud of the fact that a "groundnuts republic," as opposed to an "oil or iron or gold republic," had achieved so much. The Minister of Education (Siwale 1980) reported to Parliament that progress was satisfactory. She said: "I am glad to inform Parliament that nearly all children of age 7-12 now have been enrolled. Now we are dealing with 7- and 8-year-olds only. This year the number of pupils registered for grade 1 is estimated at 560 330." However, the data published by the Ministry and provided as evidence for her statement indicated that, in 1978, 75%, not 93%, of 7-13-year-olds had been enrolled (Fig. 1).

The quality of education was not mentioned, and no formal evaluations were reported, even though there had been persistent discussions in Parliament about falling standards of education in the country. The Ministry was forced to commission a formal study on the allegations, and the Institute of Education was entrusted with the responsibility. In addition, a sector review for primary education was launched to monitor the flow of resources and their utilization. Yet, these would be internal descriptions such as that by Idama (1979).

The issues now seem to hinge on the quality of universal primary

Table 8. Third 5 year plan targets for universalization (Tanzania, Government of 1976).

Year	Children of school age enrolled (7-13 years)[a]	School places	Percentage of all children
1974-75	433210	--	--
1975-76	665621	273375	59
1976-77	848293	418410	88
1977-78	867973	491136	100
1978-79	491000	507770	100
1979-80	506325	525700	100
1980-81	521315	--	--

[a] Figures for 1974-75 and 1975-76 are actual numbers of children enrolled in school; the other figures in the column are estimates.

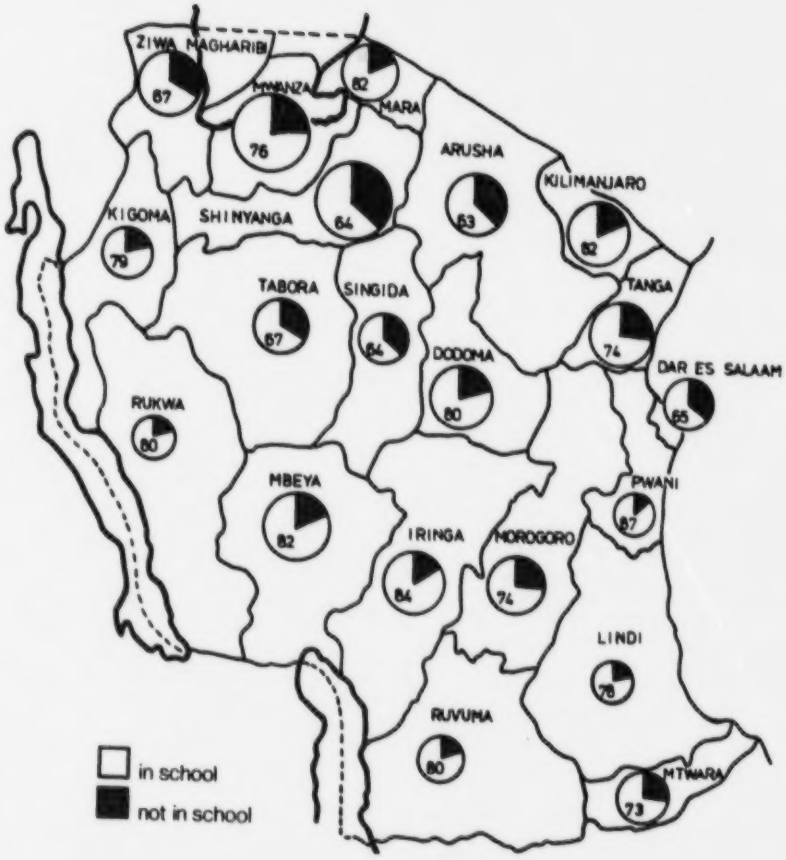

Fig. 1. Proportion of children aged 7-13 in school, Tanzania Mainland, 1978. The size of the circles reflects the relative populations of children in the different districts (Tanzania, Ministry of National Education 1978, 1979).

Table 9. Recurrent and development budgets (Shs 1000) of the Ministry of National Education, 1980-81 (Siwale 1980).

Expenditure item	Recurrent	Development
Primary education	16191.0	300.0
Secondary education	196116.3	59035.0
Teacher education	77325.0	41680.0
Adult education	28584.0	43250.0
Higher education	183193.7[a]	60204.0
Administration	66265.8	
General	32627.5	
Inspectorate	8489.4	2000.0
Commissioner's unit	814.2	
Coordination and manpower	7779.7	
Teachers' services	647.4	
Unesco	750.4	
Sectoral planning	2046.2	
Technical coordination	1011.0	
Parents' organization	10000.0	
School productive activities	100.0	
Parastatals	36904.8	7700.0
Institute of Adult Education	11104.0	1200.0
Institute of Education	6000.0	4000.0
Examination Council	7700.0	2000.0
Tanzania Library Services	12100.8	500.0

[a] This figure is given in an appendix as Shs 216 049 000.

education rather than enrollments per se. The government is committed to the program and is aware of the issues of quality. Introducing the third 5-year plan, the Prime Minister indicated that the spending on universal primary education could only be justified if it were to increase production, productivity, and self-actualization in the context of self-reliance and participatory democracy. He concluded that universalization of primary education was the most important social infrastructure in the plan, and he reiterated that the government was committed to its successful implementation and that education would be given better and more relevant content and orientation than at present. The plan (Tanzania, Government of 1976:9) itself stipulated that priority would be given to "...provision of primary education to all children of school age. Primary education will be ...[restructured]...in such a way that its final years will have a big technical content." It is hoped that "technical content" was being used in a general sense to mean relevant education because the limited employment opportunities, especially in the rural areas, dictate that most children need improved agricultural skills. Emphasis on technical education, as it is popularly defined, would be more relevant in industrial cultures.

The plan envisaged the building of more classrooms (Table 8), with a small margin to accommodate late entrants but nothing for repetition even though repetition is common.

The plan also called for 6659 additional classrooms and 13 000 teachers' houses and, at regional levels, for emphasis to be placed on regular attendance, self-reliance in farming and handicrafts, achievement of a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:45, and use of locally available materials. But, at the same time, the plan imposed two

Table 10. Regional and township education budgets (Shs 1000), 1980-81.

Region or town	Regional budget				Township budget				
	Classrooms	Teachers' houses	School equipment	Other[a]	Classrooms	Desks	Latrines	Teachers' houses	Other[a]
Arusha	2710	1824	--	--	465	116	100	--	--
Pwani	4310	1908	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Dodoma	2400	1350	--	--	930	356	120	350	880
Iringa	3615	960	--	--	480	316	120	45	--
Kigoma	936	729	6000	260	285	293	90	30	--
Kilimanjaro[b]	6150	144	--	--	540	100	200	60	120
Lindi	1000	552	--	375	420	117	90	60	110
Mara[c]	2080	1896	--	--	330	270	90	80	50
Mbeya	2500	1380	--	710	405	--	200	30	--
Morogoro	3200	840	--	670	555	--	--	60	--
Mtwara	1444	768	--	351	120	225	75	90	30
Mwanza	4200	600	--	75	960	320	100	--	30
Ruvuma	1675	384	--	105	--	--	--	--	--
Shinyanga	4570	960	--	40	--	--	--	--	--
Singida	1474	1410	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Tabora	2156	390	--	147	135	125	--	60	134
Tanga	3300	285	--	--	510	225	--	95	340
Kagera[d]	3400	480	--	447	435	154	60	60	180
Dar es Salaam	432	500	--	854	4788	650	465	--	429
Rukwa	800	317	--	406	--	--	--	--	--

[a] Very often includes stores, technical school, or backlog in teachers' houses, classrooms, latrines, and grounds.
[b] Moshi township.
[c] Msoma township.
[d] Bukoba township.

Table. 11. Government recurrent expenditures for primary education (Tosh 1980).

	Education			Primary education	
Country	% of GNP[a]	% of total recurrent expenditures 1978[b]	% of recurrent education budget, 1978[b]	% of total recurrent expenditures 1978[b]	% of GNP
Botswana	5.0 (1978)	11	45	4.95	2.70
Burundi	2.5 (1974)	21	42	8.82	1.05
Ethiopia	2.4 (1977)	13	40	5.20	0.96
Kenya	5.9 (1976)	30	72	21.60	4.13
Lesotho	12.0 (1975)	17	49	8.33	5.88
Madagascar	4.0 (1977)	20	48	9.60	1.92
Malawi	2.2 (1977)	14	42	5.88	0.92
Mauritius	4.7 (1976)	17	44	7.48	2.07
Somalia	5.0 (1978)	12	45	5.40	2.25
Swaziland	7.1 (1978)	18	43	7.74	3.05
Tanzania[c]	6.6 (1976)	17[d]	42	7.31	2.77
Zambia	6.8 (1976)	15	48	7.20	3.26

[a] Public capital and recurrent expenditure only (excludes private expenditure).
[b] Ministry of Education only.
[c] All figures are for 1976.
[d] This figures includes capital expenditure.

caveats that could be dangerous in terms of quality of education and equality of opportunities. One is clear from an excerpt (Tanzania, Government of 1976:83): "The implementation of this programme will rely more on the people's self help work so that government contribution will only be to supplement these efforts." Not that one has to oppose the concept of self-reliance but one has to be wary of the consequences of such a policy.

In terms of expenditures on education (Table 9), the Ministry of National Education spends much less on primary education than on higher education, secondary education, and teacher training; 10.9% of regional spending is for education, and 17.6% of city expenditures go to education (Table 10).

The third 5-year plan stipulated that the regions were to use Shs 418.2 million for primary education under the universalization program during the 5 years (1976-81) of the plan. This meant fewer than Shs 1 million/year were to be set aside for primary schooling -- an amount that compares unfavourably with the expenditures on the other sectors of the educational system. This finding is consistent with the data from Tosh (1980) showing that Tanzania's annual budget has one of the lowest percentages for primary education in Africa (Table 11). Nevertheless, during the third 5-year plan, 7.94% of GNP was earmarked for education. Given the expenditures, the enrollments achieved in Tanzania are incredible. Thus, as the President said to members of Parliament (Nyerere 1981d): "If determined we can do it," and as Ahmed (1980:25) observed: "Tanzania by sheer determined effort is approaching UPE." It is this determined effort that needs regular monitoring and formative, diagnostic evaluations so that it can be strengthened. This is the aim of our study.

THIS STUDY: METHODS AND RESULTS

This study was conceived as an intensive characterization of the efforts in Tanzania to achieve a 1974 Party directive to introduce universal primary education by 1977. Sampling and complex statistical methods and treatments were played down in favour of a clinical case study. Nevertheless, a few controls were built in.

Purposes

The main purpose of the inquiry was to document and evaluate the achievements and problems in implementing the universal primary education (UPE) program. It was hoped that the analysis would be useful for decision-making, especially in the development of reinforcement mechanisms for the success of the program.

The focus of the diagnosis was on:

- Clarity of objectives of universal primary education;
- Preparation for implementation of the program, including recruitment and training of teachers; preparation of instructional materials; teaching and learning facilities; recruitment and handling of schoolchildren; and
- Impact of the program on teaching and learning, in terms of students' progress; educational managers' viewpoints; and schoolteachers' points of view.

A second purpose of the study was to provide feedback for teacher-training activities. Because the Department of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam trains teachers who will deal with the primary-education issues and programs in their work in secondary schools and in teacher-training colleges, this study was designed explicitly to:

- Familiarize university students with issues surrounding both the concept and the implementation of universal primary education and, hence, to raise their consciousness about the plight of forgotten, unschooled children of the Republic;
- To provide university students with a forum for direct contribution to the training and guidance of teacher trainees and, in the process, to provide the university students with the opportunity to acquire some research skills and attitudes; and
- To make the UPE program a discussion topic among members of staff of the department.

Sampling and Instrumentation

Of about 20 administrative regions of the Tanzanian mainland, which constitute 101 administrative districts, 10 regions were involved in the study, 2 districts in each. The regions were Dar es Salaam, Morogoro, Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Ruvuma, Arusha, Tabora, Mbeya, Iringa, and Dodoma. In each region, an urban and a rural district was chosen. A total 141 primary schools and 150 UPE

teacher-training centres were visited; 150 UPE tutors, 284 UPE student teachers in the Distance Teaching program, 141 head teachers of primary schools, 180 grade 1 and 2 teachers, and about 600 grade-2 pupils from 10 schools, one in each district, balanced for rural and urban areas were incorporated. By the time of the research (June 1979), the main group of UPE pupils who joined school January 1978 had completed 1.5 years of schooling.

The main instrument for data collection was a composite of questionnaires, with some open-ended questions; attitude scales; statements for ranking; inventories and checklists; observation schedules; and achievement tests in arithmetic and writing (Appendix). The instrument was 20 pages long, dealing specifically with:

- Purposes of universal primary education and background data;
- Recruitment and training of teachers including tutors of UPE teachers and trainees in the UPE Distance Teaching scheme;
- Teaching programs in UPE teacher-training centres -- correspondence courses; radio programs; practice teaching; work in schools; and seminars in established training institutions.
- Environment of primary schools and training centres;
- Wastage rates among trainees and pupils; and
- Practical problems of implementation (evaluated in terms of views from head teachers; views from schoolteachers; views from educational managers; and achievement of grade-2 pupils in arithmetic -- 20 items -- and reading and writing -- 10 items).

The instrument was administered by 20 2nd-year university students, studying pedagogy, in collaboration with 5 lecturers in the Department of Education. Training sessions on the use of the instrument emphasized that the research had twin purposes: nonthreatening, formative evaluation and contribution to the training of UPE teachers. The university students were expected to teach and participate in school programs for the month of research. The study was done in close collaboration with the Ministry of National Education, especially the Primary School and Teacher Training sections, which are directly involved in UPE implementation.

Results

The results of the research have been organized on the basis of clusters of questions from the instrument.

Distance Teaching Program

The Distance Teaching program was aimed at preparing about 40 000 primary-school leavers as teachers for the UPE scheme through correspondence courses during the 1st year; radio and cassette-recorded programs; instruction by specially trained tutors; teaching practice in primary schools, 15-24 hours a week; and a 6-week seminar in an established teacher-training college at the end of the program.

All the components except the seminar were supervised by 2400 experienced primary schoolteachers who were specially selected and trained to manage the program in 2000 rural stations. Courses were in mathematics, Kiswahili, teaching methods, and analysis of current syllabuses, and educational studies. Total funds set aside for the program in 1979-80 were Shs 25 million (Table 12); an action plan for 1980-81 totaled 25.8 million (Table 13).

Table 12. Utilization of funds 1979-80 for the Distant Teacher Education Program.

Item	Expenditure (Shs 1000)
Institute of Adult Education correspondence	2300
National Examination Council	3570
Consolidation of the program books and delivery charges	1000
Principals and regional education officers' conference	200
Radio program workshop and distribution of recorded cassettes	150
Monitoring of the program by colleges of national education	100
Printing of correspondence materials	1000
Seminar on reading, writing, and arithmetic	360
In-service teacher education preparation: seminars on research and the administration of research; and syllabi and in-service correspondence	1410
Running and maintenance of vehicles	100
Seminars (6 weeks) for 13060 trainees and followup and visits to the seminar centres	13030
Total	23220
Funds released	25000
Balance	1780

About 150 tutors of the Distance Teaching scheme were reached in the evaluation. Among the 96 who responded to questions on background variables, 44 said they had 8 years of primary school, 10 had 10 years of schooling, and 39 had 12 years of schooling, whereas 3 could not be categorized in this way. All had professional training in teaching, 15 had 1-5 years of teaching experience; 19 had 6-10 years; 21 had 11-15; and 36 had more than 15 years. Almost all had been either head teachers or ward educational coordinators during an earlier campaign (adult education). Among them, 86 had orientation courses in teacher-training colleges on how to manage the Distance Teaching program and the implementation of UPE in their areas. The courses ranged from 1 to 4 months, and many felt that the preparation time was insufficient for the gigantic task of implementing the program. Although the regional and district education officers and school heads provided assistance, the tutors expressed frustration at not being

Table 13. Preservice and in-service program for UPE Teachers Action Plan for 1980-81.

Activity	Expenditure (Shs 1000)
Printing and in-service correspondence materials for primary 1 and 2 teachers	1000
Workshop on correspondence materials for primary 3 and 4 teachers	100
Printing charges of correspondence materials for primary 3 and 4 teachers	1000
Orientation seminar for 24 principals and 24 vice principals for 1 week	100
Administration of preservice and in-service education by Institute of Adult Education	1000
Seminar (10 days) for 364 tutors for in-service program	900
Instructional materials (books locally printed)	840
Transportation for instructional materials	80
Seminar (6 weeks) for 16000 3rd-year teacher trainees in May 1981	14000
Books for preservice trainees:	
Locally printed books (Geography of Tanzania and Learning through language)	1000
Reference books (foreign)	300
To examine 16000 candidates in May 1981 (National Examination Council)	4000
Radio program	500
Research and evaluation	400
Maintenance of vehicle and other equipment through mobile units	200
Seminar for 70 tutors on the teaching of reading, writing, and mathematics	200
Regional educational officers' conference	100
Miscellaneous	60
Total	25780

Table 14. Availability and quality of facilities at Distance Teaching training centres.

Item	Available	Not available	Quality where available			
			Very good	Good	Poor	Very poor
Classrooms	38	28	10	15	6	7
Desks	37	29	14	13	3	7
Chairs	38	28	13	15	4	7
Blackboards	43	28	13	18	7	5
Library	24	42	10	7	6	1
Radio cassettes	31	35	18	4	3	6
Radio	7	59	4	2	--	1
Cupboards	2	64	--	2	--	--
Tables	2	64	--	1	--	--
Forms	1	65	--	1	--	--

Table 15. Availability of reading materials.

Subject	Availability				
	Enough	Just enough	Few	Too few	Not available
Arithmetic	26	56	38	8	26
History	5	19	38	13	69
Geography	4	15	33	16	76
Science	6	11	22	20	83
Political education	8	14	27	23	70
English	11	8	26	23	65
Kiswahili	26	62	45	18	20
Kiswahili methods	44	68	34	20	11
Arithmetic methods	47	60	20	25	20
Educational psychology	41	57	20	30	15
Syllabus analysis	15	25	32	23	60

able to secure suitable teaching materials or transport as well as at having too many responsibilities (many were still teaching and administering their own schools).

The training centres visited were, by and large, primary schools. Several did not have classrooms, desks, chairs, blackboards, libraries, or radio cassettes (Table 14).

A total 300 student teachers were asked to evaluate the learning facilities with respect to availability of textbooks for both the academic and the teaching-methods subjects (Table 15). They indicated that, in some instances, the basic working materials were not available.

According to the student teachers, teaching aids were seldom used during their training and, when used, consisted of drawings and diagrams rather than models and real objects. The main problem in the preparation of teaching aids was availability of materials. Thus, student teachers prepared few aids themselves, although experienced teachers were fairly available to give aid.

Although the prescribed syllabus for teachers under this scheme was mathematics, Kiswahili, education, teaching methods, and analysis of current primary school syllabuses, the respondents reported that they had English, political education, history, and science as well. They all said they wanted emphasis on the academic subjects to improve their mastery of what they would teach before being taught teaching methods. English, geography, arithmetic, and science seemed to be their priority subjects, with 60 or more respondents citing each of these (Table 16).

A majority of the respondents (67 of 109) said they had three practical teaching lessons each week, and 34 had four lessons, under supervision. Of 145 trainees, 40 reported teaching up to 10 periods/week; 81 reported teaching 11-20; 23 reported 21-30, and 1 respondent reported teaching more than 30/week despite Ministry instructions for 15 periods/week. More than 100 respondents reported that they taught mathematics, and 98 mentioned Kiswahili in line with Ministry instructions, but a significant number taught other subjects

Table 16. Numbers of trainees who reported taking correspondence courses, listening to instructional radio programs, desiring more emphasis on particular subjects, and having been offered particular subjects in the training course.

Subject	Correspondence courses	Radio courses	Courses offered[a]	More emphasis needed
Educational psychology	56	68	49	--
Arithmetic/mathematics	73	78	54	60
Kiswahili	--	57	32	28
English	11	13	9	64
Political education	17	16	13	51
History	5	18	4	48
Science	--	18	6	60
Geography	13	--	--	63
Other	10	--	11	15

[a] Leadership was reported by 16 respondents as being offered.

-- 48 taught geography; 22, domestic science; 33, political education; and 24, science. Although the Ministry advised that the trainees should teach only grades 3 and 4, 3 reported teaching grade 1; 6, grade 2; 19, grade 5; and 9, grade 6. Probably all incidents in which student teachers were given responsibilities greater than those laid down by the Ministry were a reflection of the shortage of teachers.

The student teachers' overall evaluation of the program was positive. About 80 respondents said it had prepared them adequately, whereas 55 said the program was inadequate, attributing its weakness to absenteeism of their tutors and lack of teaching and learning materials. They thought that English, mathematics, science, and geography, particularly, needed greater emphasis and attention during training. This response probably reflects anxiety over their mastery level in these subjects. In general, they reported a preference for institutional, formal training rather than this Distance Teaching program but appreciated the problems that the government was trying to solve. They felt that additional seminars in teacher-training colleges would have helped. The amount of the allowance paid them by government was viewed as inadequate by many.

Environment

One of the effects of the program for universal primary education is the inflation of class size for grade 2, from a prescribed maximum of 45 to an average of 52 (Table 17). Also, there are a few children outside the age limits set by the Ministry: three children were 6 years old and two were 15 years old. Most classes did not have a library, and many did not have blackboards. Several of the schools did not have a school library, a playground, a bookstore, a clock, an office for teachers, a head teacher's office, or a latrine. Sports equipment, felt pens, manila sheets, and other supplies were often not available, and some schools did not provide breakfast, milk, or lunch, although most of the facilities were rated as good on a four-point scale (very good, good, poor, very poor), with several schools having poor or very poor latrines, teachers' offices, and school libraries. All the facilities surveyed are standard Ministry requirements. Textbooks are scarce, with more than four students having to share one book in both mathematics and English. There was at times only a

Table 17. Resource characteristics of schools visited.

Facilities/ resources	Grade						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Classes	144	168	141	122	123	97	96
Pupils	6492	8647	5553	5077	5196	3431	3437
Pupils/class	45	52	39	42	42	35	36
Desks	1162	1430	1244	1424	1541	1478	1644
Pupils/desk	6	6	5	4	4	2	2
Classrooms	86	94	96	96	99	90	86
Class libraries	0	1	1	1	2	2	2
	Textbooks						
Kiswahili	--	1386	1370	1121	1033	616	629
Political education	--	--	--	178	290	138	151
Mathematics	1460	1310	1082	1082	845	867	902
Geography	--	--	104	240	369	347	125
History	--	--	19	613	402	23	9
Science	--	207	98	38	874	68	9
English	1362	1099	1130	943	824	708	595

single copy -- the teacher's -- of a textbook for science and geography. When the head teachers of the primary schools were asked about the shortage of textbooks, they described the situation as appalling and said that textbooks, writing pads, and classrooms were inadequate in quantity and quality. Both the government (Table 18) and the community financial contributions were deemed as inadequate, although the consensus was that the problem derived from a lack of resources not commitment.

The head teachers reported that not all children in their jurisdictions were enrolled in 1978 for three main reasons: the

Table 18. Development budget 1980-81 (Shs 1000) for Ministry of National Education: foreign and local contribution by subsector.

Country/ agency	Adult education	Secondary education	Technical education	Teacher training	Higher education	Miscella- neous
Sweden	42.250	4.750	--	22.600	3.445	10.800
Denmark	--	9.900	--	12.380	4.240	2.000
Switzerlnd	--	--	--	--	13.875	--
World Bank	--	5.250	4.500	0.500	--	--
Norway	--	2.720	--	--	7.457	--
FRG	--	--	--	--	9.000	--
African D.B.	--	--	4.125	--	--	--
UNHCR	--	3.500	--	--	--	--
Netherlands	--	--	2.140	--	1.100	--
UNICEF	--	--	--	2.500	--	--
USSR	--	--	1.250	--	--	--
UK	1.000	--	--	--	--	--
Finland	--	--	--	--	0.850	--
USA	--	--	--	--	0.300	--
Tanzania	1.200	8.650	17.000	3.700	19.937	20.125

schools were not equipped to serve physically handicapped children; some schools could not accommodate all the healthy children; and some children, it was believed, simply were not on the register because their parents had hidden them to avoid sending them to school. The lack of understanding about the importance of schooling and the familial demands were cited as the reasons that parents did not want to register their children. Several students dropped out because of the long distances they had to travel to school, pregnancy, or family labour demands. Unfortunately, data on attendance and absenteeism were not readily available. However, schools reported that, before resorting to legal and punitive measures to enforce attendance, they were instituting mechanisms such as school committees to provide parents with a forum to discuss the reasons for allowing their children to drop out.

According to the head teachers, the main problems the teachers were facing included too-heavy teaching loads, lack of facilities, age and ability differences in classes, and overcrowded classrooms. On the whole, they said they were marginally managing.

Microanalysis in Kilimanjaro Region

What happened after the mass admission of pupils in 1978 was the focus of a microanalysis of one reasonably average district, Hai, in the Kilimanjaro Region. In Kilimanjaro, the number of children (based on child registration) who should have entered grade 1 in 1978 was 60 000, and the actual enrollment was 59 335 (Table 19), suggesting

Table 19. Grade-1 enrollments in Kilimanjaro, 1974-79.[a]

Year	Grade-1 pupils	
	Male	Female
1974	10018	9724
1975	13939	13670
1976	18204	17714
1977	18416	18215
1978	29810	29525
1979	16666	16875

that most of the school-age children were admitted. In Hai District, the wastage rate, as measured by empty spaces in all grades in June 1979, was 8% overall (Table 20). At grade 2, the wastage rate was smallest, and grade 7 had the fewest empty spaces because of repetition by pupils aiming for another chance at secondary-school places. The data suggested that the school system was not prepared to handle the increased numbers of students as they moved into grades 6 and 7. More space and facilities would be essential.

By 1979, almost half of all primary schoolteachers in Kilimanjaro were trained specifically for the universalization program (Table 21). There were 66 training centres in the region, accommodating 1547 teacher trainees in May 1979, according to statistics from the regional education office in Moshi (Table 22). Personnel involved in

Table 20. Classes, school populations, and empty spaces in Hai District.

	Grades						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Grades	162	244	154	138	114	70	57
Students	6771	11521	6461	5772	4790	2962	2899
Boys	3401	5884	3276	2930	2414	1449	1462
Girls	3370	5637	3185	2842	2376	1513	1437
Empty spaces[a]	741(11)	463(4)	848(13)	495(9)	382(8)	204(7)	151(5)

[a] Percentage of total spaces is indicated in parentheses.

Table 21. Paraprofessional and qualified teachers in Kilimanjaro, 1976-79.

Year		Teachers	
		Paraprofessionals	Qualified
1976	Male	252	1564
	Female	207	990
1977	Male	201	1628
	Female	257	1320
1978	Male	346	1641
	Female	652	1323
1979		1547	3252

Table 22. Number of teacher-training centres and trainees in Kilimanjaro Region.

District	Centres	Year of training	Trainees	
			Female	Male
Moshi rural	19	1	133	39
		2	111	57
		3	76	49
Moshi urban	2	1	14	--
		2	13	--
		3	8	3
Pare	26	1	107	55
		2	83	64
		3	52	67
Rombo	8	1	84	22
		2	81	38
		3	54	42
Hai	11	1	75	28
		2	73	23
		3	55	41

training activities comprised 102 ward coordinators, 25 divisional coordinators, 5 district evaluators, and 1 regional coordinator. The equipment received in 1978 for the training centres included 86 radios, 89 tape recorders, 8500 manila cards, 102 bicycles, and 12 motor bikes.

Viewpoints of Regional and District Officials

In the 20 school districts, 12 district education officers dealing with the universalization program responded to our questionnaire. They reported that, among recruits in 1977-78, 543 male and 414 female student teachers had dropped out of the program. Main reasons for leaving were, in order of importance, pregnancy, teachers' causing pregnancy among students, unspecified delinquency, drunkenness, misconduct such as fights, joining other employment sectors, and joining other courses or private secondary schools. Attrition and absenteeism were particularly serious whenever the monthly allowances were delayed.

All regions and districts had recruitment targets, and the education officers were aware of the national targets. They attributed shortfalls partly to the dropouts among student teachers who often left the schools too late to be replaced. Also, they felt that initial estimates of the number of school-age children were too low so that the schools were unprepared to accommodate the large numbers.

The majority emphasized academic elements embodied in the acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills as the aims of universal primary education (Table 23), and they thought education was the right of all people. They felt that preparations at the national level for the program were mediocre (Table 24), and they attributed the lack of readiness to the sudden introduction of the policy and its immediate implementation, which, in turn, had led to problems in preparations at the local level. They pointed out that the main weaknesses were in the preparation of teachers and in securing maximum cooperation from

Table 23. Aims of universal primary education as viewed by education officers.

Aim	Weighted frequency by rank						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Achievement of permanent literacy	35	24	10	0	3	0	0
Human right for all children	35	18	10	0	0	0	0
Political and cultural socialization	0	12	15	16	0	0	0
Economic efficiency	7	24	25	0	12	0	0
Fulfillment of Party motives	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
Development of self-reliance	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Understanding and control of environment	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Table 24. Weaknesses in preparations for the program for universal primary education as viewed by education officers.

Weakness	Weighted frequency by rank				
	1	2	3	4	5
Preparation of teachers	15	12	9	0	2
Solicitation of cooperation from parents	40	12	0	0	0
Construction of classrooms	0	12	6	4	6
Registration and admission of pupils	0	4	9	10	3
Preparation of teaching materials	10	4	6	8	1

Table 25. Main problems with the universal primary education program as viewed by education officers.

Problem	Weighted frequency by rank						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pupils' absenteeism	21	6	15	12	3	6	1
Parental apathy	14	0	0	12	6	4	3
Relations between paraprofessional and qualified teaching staff	0	0	19	4	6	4	3
Classroom teaching	7	18	20	4	3	4	1
Allowance paid UPE teachers	0	0	0	12	6	6	4
Ability of UPE teachers	21	12	5	0	12	2	1
Inadequate teaching materials	35	24	5	4	3	0	0

parents in the implementation of the program. Current problems in implementation were, in order of importance, the lack of teaching materials, ability of teachers trained specifically for the program (paraprofessionals), absenteeism among students, classroom-related problems, parental apathy, the amount of the monthly allowance given to paraprofessionals, and the relations between qualified and paraprofessional teaching staff (Table 25). They also expressed concern about the quality of education and storage and care of school equipment and property.

The education officers believed that the rural populations, and especially parents, were mainly concerned about what their children would do after 7 years of primary education (Table 26). Would they have a life similar to their parents, join the labour force, or get secondary-school places? In addition, the parents were concerned about whether their children would actually learn to read and write and acquire skills for later life. The views suggested that many parents in the rural areas could not pay the annual Shs 20/child along with purchasing uniforms and that many were skeptical and suspicious about the use of the accumulated subscriptions. All the same, the education officers reported that parents have cooperated in self-reliance activities and in teaching of cultural affairs.

Their overall assessment was that the universalization program was successful, but they emphasized that the government should concentrate

Table 26. Main concerns of parents and other people about the universal primary education program as reported by education officers.

Issue	Weighted order of importance						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
What pupils will do when they finish grade 7	49	12	5	0	3	0	0
Many children will not be literate	7	18	15	8	6	0	0
Teachers will have too much work	21	30	5	4	3	0	0
Parents cannot pay Shs 20	0	6	30	12	0	0	0
Parents do not want to pay Shs 20	7	6	5	8	9	0	0
Buildings and materials are inadequate	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Parents with many children cannot buy uniforms	0	0	0	0	0	2	0

on preparation and distribution of teaching materials, preparation of better teachers, political education for parents, provision of lunch for schoolchildren, and expansion of secondary-school opportunities (Table 27). They strongly recommended that the primary education program be closely linked with adult education. They reported that capacity (53 526 children) in Kilimanjaro was far below the demand (in 1977, 93 841 places).

Concerns of Teachers

To assess the impact on teaching, we interviewed 80 teachers of grades 1 and 2. In addition, a random sample of 600 pupils (grade 2) was given a short test on writing and arithmetic skills (Appendix). The teachers indicated that, in most cases, groups of children have to share reading books, arithmetic textbooks, and writing slates. They seemed to perceive problems in the distribution of teaching materials at the district level, which they attributed to transport problems. They complained of teaching large classes, on the average between 46 and 50 pupils, with some classes having more than 55 pupils. A majority of the teachers taught 4-6 periods/day, but some were teaching up to 10 periods. The main problem they encountered was the shortage of teaching materials, especially those that would help them

Table 27. Areas recommended for government attention.

Area	Rank order (weighted)				
	1	2	3	4	5
Better preparation of teachers	35	8	6	4	0
Production of more teaching materials	15	40	3	0	0
Increased secondary-school enrollment	0	0	6	2	5
Provision of lunch to pupils	0	4	9	6	5
Political education for parents	21	0	6	6	0

Table 28. Percentages of 600 grade-2 pupils passing an achievement test in arithmetic and writing.

Item	Mathematics	Reading and writing
1	43	33
2	58	28
3	38	26
4	41	26
5	36	24
6	37	48
7	36	19
8	38	49
9	44	52
10	26	47
11	24	--
12	46	--
13	70	--
14	30	--
15	17	--
16	19	--
17	15	--
18	23	--
19	12	--
20	24	--

illustrate abstract concepts. They pointed out that improvising their own materials was demanding a lot of time. Many children were reported to have problems with pronunciation of words and construction of letters and, in mathematics, to have difficulty in aligning numbers and understanding the concepts. To improve, they needed to practice through exercises and homework, which increase teaching load, especially with the large classes and variations in age and abilities of pupils.

Performance of grade-2 pupils (Table 28), as measured by the achievement test, was slightly encouraging. The average number of pupils passing was 32.35% in arithmetic and 35.2% in writing. The distribution of performance by items was fair, although items in mathematics needing or involving more than one operation were performed with less accuracy than those requiring single operations (Table 28). Likewise, in writing sentences read aloud by examiners, variations between items were observed, although the length of a sentence did not seem to present particular problems. However, individual variances were not calculated; this is unfortunate because individual problems are especially important in a system geared toward the average child.

University students' participation in the training of teachers was marginal because, for the most part, they were involved for too short a time to make meaningful contributions. However, their cooperation in production of teaching materials, looking at lesson notes, and making observations in the classrooms was solicited, and they seemed keenly interested.

QUANTITY VERSUS QUALITY ISSUES

The efforts and determination of Tanzania's peoples, the Party, and the government deserve high commendation. The universal provision of primary education is a historical event that lays a foundation for many other developments in the country. The policy to make primary education universal required the courage of a revolutionary Party, and the progress so far has been based on the patience, determination, hard work, understanding, and appreciation of people with a high level of political consciousness. Universalization of primary education is not just about pedagogy but about people and politics. As such, there is a political economy of universal primary education, which sets it within the context of the political economy of education in Tanzania. An appreciation of the efforts as well as the economics underlies this discussion about quality issues and implications as well as the proposals for action.

No discussion about the achievements, both quantitative and qualitative, of the program would be complete without some remarks on the resources allocated. The debate on how much should be allocated to education in general is not addressed in this publication, for, according to the Ministry of National Education, Tanzania devotes about 20% of its recurrent annual budget to education. Nor is the debate on whether or not the current development budget (7.8%) for education is adequate. The focus, here, is the difference between the amount spent on university education and that spent on primary education. Why does a university student cost about Shs 57 000 annually when a primary school pupil costs Shs 600? Yet, the issue is not why is university education so expensive but rather why is primary education so cheap in Tanzania. Annually, per-student costs of university education are about Shs 60 000 (excluding tuition) in the USA, Shs 40 000 (living expenses only) in Holland, and about Shs 80 000 in the United Kingdom (Stassen 1979). These figures do not mean that there should be no concern for this trend in Tanzania but only that assessing these costs is a different exercise. Our concern is to make a case for expenditures that would result in better primary school education; this is not the same as making a case against high expenses for higher education. According to Tosh (1980), of the countries in Africa, Tanzania has the lowest annual expenditures on primary education. The central government has taken an escapist's approach to capital development, leaving the task of establishing facilities to local initiatives and resources. Thus, many children go to school under trees and in shanties, a condition morally unacceptable in a society promoting egalitarian principles. The result is regional inequalities and ineffective utilization of resources, some building materials from the central government lying idle for years before funds are available from voluntary contributions (Freyhold 1977; Mwampeta 1980). Secondary schools, technical colleges, teacher-training colleges, and universities are, in relative terms, Taj Mahals compared with primary schools, which, in some places, are unsafe and, in others, so noisy, because of the lack of partitioning between classes, that teaching is impossible (Freyhold 1977). Ahmed (1980) compared costs for primary versus secondary

education in different continents and found that, in Africa, the ratio was 1:6; in Asia; 1:2.5; and, in Latin America, 1:2. All these findings indicate that resources allocated to primary education need to be reevaluated.

The breakdown of expenditures for secondary schools (Table 29) provides some clues to how much better the facilities are (no secondary school students sit on the mud to listen to their teachers) and how much higher the expectations are than in primary school. Other institutions of higher learning have similar categories of inputs, although the amounts differ markedly (Table 29). And one may legitimately ask: "Who does not need these inputs?" In fact, because of the quality in the rural environments in Tanzania, one could argue that primary schoolchildren need the medical expenses, school materials, welfare, lunch, transport, conferences, station upkeep and maintenance, water, etc. much more than does any other group of students in the country. Improvements in the basic infrastructure are a first step in Tanzania. Observations reported from Tanga, which is relatively well equipped, indicate how badly improvements are needed (Freyhold 1977:15): "...desks and blackboards come last if they come at all. In fact, almost all of the permanent class rooms are seriously underequipped, and most children have to learn how to write and draw on soft cover notebooks placed on their knees." Our findings echo earlier reports: some schools have no blackboards; when there are desks available, pupils have to squeeze six in a desk; often, the roofs leak when it rains; etc. The story is the same in every region and complaints about the facilities are always being received by the Ministry. For instance, P.S. Binali (unpublished document, 1980:2), a Ruvuma regional education officer, reported:

> For example to build one class room that accommodates 45 pupils, only Shs 5,000 is allocated, and for a teachers quarter of three bedrooms and a verandah only Shs 7,000 is allocated. This is only sufficient for the purchase of corrugated iron sheets and nails without rafters or cement. This state of affairs leaves some of the buildings uncompleted in some areas. And for those that are covered with roofing, the floor and walls are hardly furnished.... Another difficulty is due to transportation of the building materials and equipment...iron sheets, rafters, cement, class room equipment and other materials...from Dar es Salaam to the site ....apart from cost prices, transportation charges (including regional differentials) have never been taken into consideration at national level. This again causes unfinished projects.

Ndunguru (1980:3) reporting on the Sandawi divisions in Dodoma, commented: "The pathetic school buildings and the primitive living conditions of both teachers and pupils are in no way conducive to a healthy school attainment. There is an equal opportunity to get access to...[this]...kind of education." In other words, primary schoolchildren have been relegated to a marginal situation in which gross exploitation and negligence can flourish. The differences between higher education and primary education are not morally justifiable. The costing procedures for primary-school funding must be reexamined if Tanzania is to achieve rational standards.

Primary schooling, if it is to inspire hope and confidence and to

Table 29. Costs (Shs) per student in public secondary schools and in Dar es Salaam Technical College in (Tanzania, Ministry of National Education 1980).[a]

Item	Technical college		Public secondary school	
	Total[b] (Shs 1000)	Unit cost (Shs)	Total[c] (Shs 1000)	Unit cost (Shs)
Personal emoluments	4894.4	5320	71123.6	1726
Workers' and farmers' Housing Development Fund	97.9	106	1422.5	35
Travel	120.6	131	2692.4	65
Office expenses (stationery, electricity, water, postage, uniforms)	514.7	559	6633.2	161
Maintenance and operating expenses	526.4	572	4680.3	114
Miscellaneous	225.6	245	183.3	4
Upkeep of stations	460.0	500	4812.2	117
Special expenditures	1182.6	1285	4241.5	103
Conferences and committees	36.8	40	321.4	8
Preservice allowances	662.4	720	--	--
Transport of students	368.7	401	11000.4	267
Catering	2811.1	3056	43012.8	1044
Welfare of trainees	18.6	20	150.4	4
Renting of hostels	477.3	519	--	--
Part-time courses	233.9	468	--	--
School materials	1365.0	1484	5846.3	142
Hospital charges	26.1	28	418.2	10
Replacements	46.0	500	--	--
Field attachment in industrial training	1461.5	1827	--	--

[a] The figures cited for the technical college were planned expenditures, whereas those cited for the public secondary schools are actual amounts set aside in 1979.
[b] The enrollment was 920 students; teaching staff numbered 110; and other staff, 170.
[c] The enrollment was 41 800 students; teaching staff comprised 2392.

be the foundation for disciplined workers and farmers, must impart to students the feeling that the system cares about their conditions. Although there is no mechanical relationship between the elegance of buildings and school achievement, the current physical structures militate against any positive effects of schooling.

The experience of other countries is noteworthy: both Russia and Japan discovered that, whereas decentralization of universal primary education was consistent with principles of democracy and the development of relevant education at local levels, the central government had to transfer massive amounts of resources to standardize and develop permanent school structures and equipment. The governments found that substantial savings could be made by such interventions, which cut down on repairs and replacements (Aso and Amano 1972; Blumenthal and Benson 1978). The observation in the 1980-81 development plan that many of the classrooms and teachers' houses built in the 1975-79 period were temporary and that, for now, concentration will be on replacing them with more permanent buildings is quite revealing of the maladies and costliness of the system. In Nigeria (Wilson 1978; Hawes 1979), where primary education was declared "free" in 1976 and made compulsory, parents and local communities spent more money on education of their children after the declaration than before because of taxes, concealed fees for books, building funds, etc. Yet, in 1978, there was still a shortfall of 20 000 classrooms and 35 000 teachers, and 70 000 teachers were either unqualified or untrained (McDowell 1980). As a result, the federal government had to change priorities and reallocate massive resources to ensure that primary-education structures and equipment of acceptable standards were developed. In terms of budget, primary education ranked first and then higher and secondary education. The states' overall budget for education climbed from 33.9% to 35.7%, whereas the federal budget almost doubled from 4% to 7.7%.

Because Tanzania is poor and the cost of revamping primary education prohibitive, universalization of primary education might have been delayed indefinitely if it had not been for imaginative political interventions. It is a national issue dealing with people and politics, redistribution of resources, including knowledge as a form of human capital, rural development, etc. Political commitment to it should be concomitant with a commitment to quality structures and quality education. This does not mean that the overall budget for education can remain constant, with allocations to primary education being increased at the expense of higher education. It means all sectors have to sacrifice funds to benefit from this program, within the context of rural-development plans and in related national projects. China faced a similar dilemma in the 1960s (Unger 1980) and had to compromise modernization and the use of high-level personnel in favour of redistribution of opportunities for the masses, workers and their children.

In terms of enrollments of primary school-age children, 93% achievement is commendable. Yet, this should not conceal exclusions from school of groups of children from poor families and remote areas, nor should it lull people into forgetting that the national elite, as Bereday (1980:192) observed, can "...at times openly promise but secretly retard educational expansion in order not to jeopardize their own entrenched privileges or those of their children." De jure universalization of primary education can amount to de facto exclusion of children if attendance is not enforced or if children are not well taught. Handicapped children, especially the mentally and socially

retarded, need to receive special care so that when they are capable they can acquire literacy and numeracy skills. In Tanzania, nomadic groups, such as Maasai, Barbaig, and Wakwavi, who rely on their children for herding activities, may need mobile schools (Mrutu 1980; Nkinyangi 1980) in the universal primary education program. Tanzania has succeeded in developing work-study schools in Arusha region where schoolchildren come with their calves to school. People from similar cultures such as the Fulani in Nigeria are reported to have emigrated to avoid sending their children to school (McDowell 1980:57): "The Fulan...in the Gongola State in the North were fleeing into Cameroon to escape being forced to send their children to formal schools." The Maasai of Tanzania would probably move into Kenya if forced to send all their children to a formal school for the whole day.

Even among permanent settlements, two issues need to be tackled: cultural resistance because of religious or traditional beliefs, which may affect only 5% of potential school enrollments in given areas but may compromise the local drive to universalize primary education, and neglect either because of a lack of interest or because of distances between home and school. Freyhold (1977) reported some religious and cultural groups in Tanga region that oppose sending children to school. For them, the system will need to include innovative approaches through adult education and school programs along with the legal apparatus requiring universal attendance. Coercion is not desirable and probably won't work anyway. Careful mapping and monitoring of enrollments are essential, and the inspectorate can use the local political apparatus to encourage attendance, although universalization of primary education implies that schools will be easily accessible. Observations suggest that children walk long distances to school -- many, an average 1.6 km/day. As no lunch is offered at school, some walk even farther or go without lunch, although studies show that malnutrition, low body weight, and ill health markedly depress school achievement (Scheifelbein and Simmons 1981).

Another issue affecting the program relates to the data on children of school age. During the registration of children for the drive toward universal primary education, three rather unplanned methods seem to have been used. In some places, teachers used the political apparatus, the cell leaders, to obtain information about the number of school-age children in constituencies. In some areas, all parents and adults were summoned to school to provide the information, and, in still other areas, teachers and pupils went around villages to collect the data. Reports from Tanga (Freyhold 1977) suggest that the results of this mini census were unreliable and often contradictory. Now that national census data are available, new projections may be needed. In both Russia (Kozakiewcz 1980) and Nigeria (Wilson 1978), accurate demographic data on fertility, mortality, migration, school dropouts, grade repetition and transition, as well as ages of children were reported to be difficult to obtain. For instance, in countries using 7 years as the school-entry age, one finds what is called the 7-year loading syndrome, with many older children who do not have birth certificates reporting to be 7 years old. To maintain the momentum of enrollments, delivery, and capacity, school systems require reliable demographic data. In Tanzania today, this need is greater than the need for political mobilization.

The efficiency of an educational system can be evaluated on both quantitative and qualitative performance. Quantitative inefficiency includes school wastage (grade repetition and dropouts), low

teacher-student ratio, underutilization of physical resources, and mismanagement of human and financial resources. In Africa, the retention rate is estimated to be 100% for grade 1, decreasing to 83%, 78%, 72%, 65% in grades 2, 3, 4, and 5. These percentages are better than those reported for Asia and Latin America where the percentage still in school after grade 5 is 41 (Fredriksen 1978). In Bangladesh (Qadir 1979), 70% drop out before grade 5. Tanzania has among the highest completion rates (estimated at 81% in 1976) for primary school (IBRD 1980; Tosh 1980), although universalization of primary education may mean increased dropout rates. In fact, a study in Zanzibar (Mruma 1981) concluded: "...dropout cases have now reached 40 percent, whereas class attendance in schools has dropped to threatening levels." Of 21 137 children who were to enroll in 1980 in Zanzibar, only 6435 did so and half will quit before completion. Parental apathy may be responsible for the poor performance: the study showed that about 20% of those who dropped out were children of divorced parents and another 20% dropped out for marriage purposes. Generally, factors accounting for drop out include apathy of parents, child labour in the family house or business, employment outside the home sphere, long distances from home to school, nutrition and health, and dull teaching in depressing buildings and ill-equipped classrooms. These factors have greater influence after universal primary education has been introduced than before because of the inclusion of marginal groups in the school populations.

Repetition is likely also to increase after the introduction of universal primary education. It is estimated that repetition could be 8%, with wide regional and school variations. This figure compares favourably with estimates of 15% in Latin America, 16% in Africa as a whole, and 18% in Asia (Unesco 1974). King (1974) gives higher rates for Kenya, ranging from 10% to 80% of final classes, depending on quality of school and its location. Repetition is considered a form of wastage, reflecting quantitative inefficiency because of its cumulative and retrogressive effects. Many repeaters take the places of new enrollees, increase costs and class sizes, may adversely affect teacher effectiveness, and may improve their performance at the expense of fresh groups. However, under conditions of universal primary education, repetition may be relatively valid. Children who have not mastered the basic requirements for literacy and numeracy should repeat. Currently, most repeaters are looking for secondary-school places rather than mastery of primary-school skills required for graduation; perhaps, they should be provided with other means to secure such places.

One crucial and fundamental issue is quality of education; it has been raised both formally (Kwalazi 1976; Mwanjombe 1977; Mwampeta 1980) in Parliament (Nyerere 1981d) and informally through the mass media. The basic complaint has been that doubling enrollment in 2 years has led to falling standards, which were already deteriorating. This issue is always raised in attempts to universalize and democratize education, with a tacit assumption that more students mean less intellectual rigour and achievement of basic skills. Basically, the issue of standards refers to two levels. First is the level of objectives. Normally, under conditions of universal primary education, objectives of education change and become more diverse, which in turn may lead to diverse programs to cater to the interests and abilities of a highly heterogeneous school population. In Tanzania, at this level, some parents do not value cultural objectives embodied in such activities as Sindimba, Ngonjera, and archery, which have become integral and essential elements of education under

democratization and nationalization of education. Activities such as farming and political education are not highly valued by some parents either. They would like a traditional, elitist school program for basic skills in mathematics, reading, and writing, preparing children for secondary education. That is, concerns for falling standards of education may basically reflect two opposing philosophies, with strong vested interests, regarding what is the central mission and task of schools regardless of achievements. Thus, what may be called the elitist group emphasizes intellectual rigour and basic academic skills, whereas others are interested in a broad conception of the purpose of education to include social, cultural, and political activities. Both groups have valid points of view that are not mutually exclusive but have different emphases and value systems.

The second level of concern for falling standards is the achievement of given objectives. For instance, all educators agree that ability to read, write, and handle simple operations can never be excluded from the central mission of the school. China, the USA, Tanzania, etc. all want their inhabitants to achieve permanent literacy and inquiring minds. The question, then, is whether schools today are fulfilling these objectives as effectively as they were before primary education was made universal. Answering this question may mean comparing the performance of schoolchildren in 1960 with that of children in 1980 and examining the mean differences. Here, at the technical level, there are two dangers. One is comparing achievements of two programs that have different objectives. Many studies attempting to compare groups across time find that changes in curriculum and school objectives explain achievement differences (Husen 1979). The second is comparing achievements (say in arithmetic) of an unscreened population (all school-age children) with those of a small, select group that has gone through several screening tests from admission to the end of primary school. Logically, one expects lower mean scores and greater variances among the unscreened group than among the select population. Thus, the comparison is misleading. In addition, school achievements depend on both in-school and out-of-school variables, and it is difficult, though not impossible, to separate their differential contributions. Thus, changes in out-of-school conditions may influence achievements even if in-school variables such as instructional standards have remained the same.

These comments do not mean that concerns for quality of education are irrelevant but rather that comparisons are not valid. The concerns are particularly important in developing countries where evidence suggests that the intraschool factors are stronger than the out-of-school factors -- the reverse of evidence from industrialized countries (Heyneman and Jamison 1980). The intraschool variables include composition of enrollments, school and classroom organization, quantity of schooling in terms of the number of contact hours, curriculum, student motivations, and characteristics of teaching staff. There are no exhaustive reviews on enrollment composition (age, sex, ethnic and religious backgrounds, etc.) and how this relates to school effectiveness. Besides the findings that marginal groups, children from poor and underprivileged families, perform worse than do mainstream groups under programs of universalization and democratization of education, there is little guidance. However, in terms of age of entry to school, studies indicate that the earlier one can be taught certain skills the better and that the way that instruction is structured affects performance at specific ages. There are great variations in the age of entry to school, both within and outside Africa. Likewise, the number of contact hours per week, per

year, and per primary-school cycle varies widely, although 5 contact hours/day seems to be the norm (compared with 3 hours in Tanzania -- Husen 1979).

The effects of school and classroom organization on outcomes are not clearcut, depending on whether the educational system emphasizes affective or cognitive objectives (Avalos and Haddad 1981). There is no magic teacher-student ratio. It ranges from 1:18 in Europe through 1:52 in Tanzania to 1:82 in Thailand (Chau 1973) and 1:80 in Mauritania (Churchill and Omari 1981) with great rural-urban variations. Thorough analysis has not been undertaken but could define optimum combinations of factors.

There have been exhaustive reviews of research on teacher effectiveness (Alexander and Simmons 1975; Husen et al. 1978; Avalos and Haddad 1981). These studies suggest that teachers' academic qualifications, certification, ability, achievement, experience, motivations, and expectations of students, all, affect pupils' achievement. More importantly, reviews by the World Bank (IBRD 1980) and Heyneman and Jamison (1980) show that the availability and use of textbooks are one of the most crucial variables determining outcomes, especially in attempts to equalize learning outcomes. Teacher's preparation, student's homework, teacher's mastery of the language of instruction, pupil's health and nutrition, and conditions of the physical structures are generally assumed also to influence overall school achievement. One consistent finding of our study and studies by Meena (1979) and Omari (1977) is that textbooks are in short supply in schools in Tanzania. This shortage of basic working materials definitely has a negative effect on student achievement, especially of marginal groups who cannot afford private books or tuition. The irony is that the marginal groups are central to any attempts to provide equality of opportunities.

The present high proportion of teachers without academic qualifications who are basically inexperienced, primary-school leavers but who have been given 3-years' training within the universal primary education program is one valid reason for concern about quality of education despite a 97.2% pass rate in final national examinations. It means that someone must carefully monitor the composition of teaching staff, matching, in each school, teachers of different experience, academic qualifications, and type of training so that some schools are not staffed by only inexperienced, low-ability teachers. Otherwise, as has been shown in Tanga, the distribution of teachers and their qualifications will become unequal and uneven. The risk is that some schools will not eliminate illiteracy but will merely act as an additional burden to current and future resource allocations. Observations suggest that inexperienced, low-ability teachers rely heavily on traditional teaching methods, including authoritarianism and rote learning, which are the antithesis of the requirements of education for self-reliance (Nyerere 1967; Mwongozo 1971). Teacher performance under the current circumstances in Tanzania clearly needs more monitoring and direction than it is receiving at present, especially in view of Idama's (1978) findings on the poor academic level of the paraprofessional teachers trained in the program. In addition, our finding that the dropout rate of such trainees was rather high for reasons of pregnancy or discipline needs careful consideration. Mwampeta (1980) had similar findings in which 361 trainees (86% of dropouts) in Mtwara region were involved in either pregnancy or immoral, undisciplined behaviour. Such findings indicate that monitoring must be instituted and taken seriously if the

Table 30. Subjects and allocation of periods in Tanzania's primary schools 1980 (Tanzania, Ministry of National Education 1980).

Subject	Classes and allocation of periods			
	1-2 (6 periods/day)	3-4 (7 periods/day)	5-6 (8 periods/day)	7 (8 periods/day)
Kiswahili	12	9	7	6
Mathematics	8	7	7	8
Art	4	3	3	3
Home economics/health science	1	2	2	2
Physical education	2	2	2	2
Handicrafts	1	1	2	2
Religion	2	2	2	2
Science/agricultural science[a]	--	2	4	4
English	--	4	4	4
Political education	--	2	2	2
Geography	--	2	2	2
History	--	--	2	2

[a] Syllabus includes "The earth, astronomy, energy, living things, machines, and ecology." There is no agriculture currently, and no curriculum developer for primary-school agriculture at the Institute of Education.

universal primary education program is to achieve positive results.

Finally, in a discussion of the quality of education, one must examine the curriculum and the future of primary-school leavers. This study has not dealt with these two issues extensively, but some observations have been made. Although the efficiency of a school system can be easily measured in terms of academic performance on traditional achievement tests, costs per student, repetition, and dropouts, evaluating the curriculum is less straightforward. The present primary-school curriculum is primarily abstract and academic in nature because quality of education is judged solely on the basis of academic achievement of students. It not only is irrelevant to the learning needs of the majority of schoolchildren in Tanzania but actually masks social-selection mechanisms that operate throughout every step toward equality in life chances and of access to education and achievements in educational outcomes. At present, it is biased in favour of the urban and bourgeois class and is basically elitist (Table 30). There is no evidence that the curriculum has been decentralized to be more sensitive to the demands of local circumstances. Tosh (1980) reported a large survey of opinions regarding the essential elements of a primary-education program (Table 31). Traditional skills ranked high, with agriculture receiving the same rank as literacy and numeracy, even though agriculture has been seriously neglected in the schools. Nyerere (1981b,c) when addressing teachers in Mbeya and Tabora on the philosophy and requirements of education for self-reliance, challenged primary schoolteachers to study the local ecologies and demands as the basis for forming a local-based curriculum. He ruled out the idea of a Mashafu (Bible) from Dar es Salaam giving details on how to prepare children for life. In his words, the Ministry of National Education in Dar es Salaam should give only one message to teachers: "Teachers, prepare children for the life they are going to live in their villages." This

Table 31. Importance attached by key educators to possible components of basic education (n=13) (Tosh 1980).

Subject	Very important	Less important	Of little importance
Literacy	13	--	--
Numeracy	13	--	--
Basic agricultural skills	13	--	--
Domestic science, home economics	12	1	--
Productive work	12	1	--
Physical and health education	11	2	--
Social, civic, political education	11	2	--
Basic technical skills	11	2	--
Environmental education	11	1	1
National, local history and geography	9	4	--
Basic knowledge of science	9	4	--
Participation in community projects	9	4	--
Traditional arts and crafts	9	3	1
Religious education	8	2	3
Moral education	7	5	1
Basic commercial skills	6	4	3
Vernacular literature	5	2	6
Family and sex education	3	6	4
Traditional music, dance, and drama	2	10	1
World history, geography	2	3	8

approach, he said, was necessary because of the great heterogeneity of the villages in Tanzania.

Although this position is attractive, it is rather unrealistic to expect teachers to tackle the problem of relevance of a curriculum without guidance and mechanisms for doing so. Perhaps, formal, district education commissions could be given responsibility for the development of relevant curricula and materials, which could differ from one location to another but be based on common organizing principles. The Institute of Education should provide advice, with the commissions being composed of both educators and other relevant functionaries such as the agricultural and cooperative officers. Such a curriculum should be designed to occupy about half the contact hours in classes 5-8 and about one-eighth the time for classes 1-4. Objections to such an arrangement are two: that achievement of permanent literacy and other required skills will be impossible if the time that is currently devoted to them is shortened and that some children will be condemned to be hewers of wood and labourers at an early age because education will divide them on functional lines, with some permanently geared toward the modern, urban environment and some rural bound. This becomes ideologically and pedagogically objectionable. The elitist and liberal left arguments are against making a curriculum relevant to local needs. They would rather see a uniform, general curriculum that is basically designed to prepare students for higher and technical education (Blumenthal and Benson 1978). The compromise proposed here entails strengthening of the local component of the curriculum without completely eliminating the common core curriculum. Of course, twin dangers have to be avoided: the tendency to transpose the general primary-school curriculum with the local vocations and requirements and the tendency to pare down the general curriculum drastically to meet only the local requirements for each

activity. The way to avoid these pitfalls is to classify local demands into overlapping clusters of pedagogical activities such as dairy farming, food storage, cooperative farming, small-business management, and to design curriculum packages and modules accordingly.

In this context, the functional-literacy approach, with primers, should be used, but, instead of using crop or activity primers such as cotton, banana, maize, fishing, and politics (Eyakuze and Ilkiuyoni 1978), one could design more inclusive categories of crops and activities. Unesco (1973) attempted this approach, and serious work along these lines has been done in Cameroon (Bergmann and Butler 1980). In this approach, primary-school science includes agricultural and environmental studies. However, instead of a teacher's manual for each crop or activity, as in Eyakuze and Ilkiuyoni (1978), there is one teacher's manual for primary-school agriculture, which sets out the pedagogical context of the whole program, supplemented by teacher's manuals for crops, farming methods, crop storages, and land tenure. This approach looks pedagogically attractive and can quite easily complement the efforts made in the functional-literacy work in the country. It would be especially useful if integrated with cooperative activities between the primary and adult education programs.

Observations by Schonmeir (1977) that agriculture in Tanzanian primary schools is taught in an abstract, bookish manner without concrete examination of what is possible in the local circumstances needs great attention. In both rural and urban areas, school programs should be available that facilitate the transition from school to the adult community. They should include information centres, work-study at technical and agricultural schools, apprenticeships, social clubs, and recurrent learning opportunities through correspondence and short, institutionalized courses on relevant activities. The experience of folk-development colleges could prove particularly valuable. Although one cannot dictate all the details of what schools should do to make education relevant to the needs of the students, principles have been set down by Kay (1976) who delineated essential characteristics:

- It must be humanistic, permitting growth of heterogeneous individuals;
- It must be flexible enough to permit local variations;
- It must be conceived as social, educative experiences rather than a list of narrow specific objectives;
- It has to balance classroom and out-of-school experiences for the development of cognitive, affective, and manipulative skills;
- It must make maximum use of local resources, both personnel for teaching and school construction materials; and
- It must be supported by political commitment and campaigns to maintain the momentum of universal primary education along with administrative and legislative efforts to deter wastage and slackening.

One question that is often asked is: How is relevance of education to be judged then? Some criteria could be developed on the national level. For instance, in Kenya (Kenya, Government of, no date), the relevance of education is to be analyzed in terms of increased agricultural productivity; fertility behaviour; improved health and nutrition; improved access to nonformal education, training programs, and government services; improved individual and family incomes; and improved employment patterns and occupational status. It

Table 32. Enrollment in government secondary schools in grade 1 and 5, 1961-81 (Tanzania, Government of 1976).

Year	1st year		5th year	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1961	2967	1227	211	25
1962	3530	1280	231	55
1963	3558	1414	397	100
1964	4062	1240	519	97
1965	4311	1631	659	121
1966	4710	1667	685	141
1967	4857	1778	742	153
1968	5127	1862	989	225
1969	5190	1959	1179	232
1970	5305	2069	1264	242
1971	5554	2016	1354	254
1972	5889	1858	1464	241
1973	5884	2049	1543	265
1974	5895	2368	1616	272
1975	6220	2366	1609	256
1976	5838	2877	1582	301
1977	5861	2947	1616	324
1978	7603	3157	1730	442
1979	8093	3447	1730	517
1980	8093	4207	1730	567
1981	8093	4657	1780	717

Table 33. Percentage of primary-school leavers selected for secondary education, 1961-76.[a]

Year	Students in 7th-year primary school	Students selected	% of total eligible
1961	11732	4196	35.8
1962	13730	4810	35.0
1963	17042	4972	29.2
1964	20348	5302	26.1
1965	29367	5942	20.2
1966	42083	6377	15.5
1967	47981	6635	13.8
1968	58872	6989	11.9
1969	60545	7149	11.8
1970	64630	7530	11.7
1971	70922	7740	10.9
1972	87777	7955	9.1
1973	106203	8165	7.7
1974	119350	8472	7.1
1975	137559	8715	6.3
1976	156114	8620	5.3
1977	162000	10760	6.6
1978	179400	11670	6.5
1979	204000	12360	6.0
1980	222300	12650	5.7

[a] Discrepancies between the numbers of students selected and enrollments in 1st year secondary school (Table 32) reflect errors in the sources for numbers of pupils selected.

Table 34. Proportion of pupils selected for secondary education in 1973 and 1974 by regions.

Region	Enrollment in 7th-year primary school, September 1973	Selected for 1st-year secondary in 1974	% selected for enrollment, 1974	% of 1972 enrollment selected for 1st-year secondary 1973
Arusha	4840	374	7.7	9.05
Coast	8232	1127	13.7	14.02
Dodoma	5280	390	7.0	8.70
Iringa	4912	355	7.0	7.35
Kigoma	3403	260	7.6	10.30
Kilimanjaro	12107	775	6.0	8.05
Lindi	3112	287	9.2	10.52
Mara	5260	319	6.1	7.59
Mbeya	7235	507	7.0	8.28
Morogoro	6072	418	6.9	7.71
Mtwara	4224	314	7.4	8.48
Mwanza	8317	596	7.2	8.66
Ruvuma	4335	299	6.9	7.63
Shinyanga	5468	334	6.1	7.17
Singida	4188	292	7.0	8.22
Tabora	4287	378	8.8	9.31
Tanga	7957	660	8.0	7.79
West Lake	6974	480	5.9	6.80

is not quite clear how these criteria will be used in the specific context of rural areas in Kenya, but the idea of establishing criteria for relevance is attractive. In Tanzania, besides providing basic literacy and numeracy skills, primary education should facilitate improvements in:

- Agricultural productivity, with a concomitant reduction of migration of school leavers to towns;
- Small-scale industries and small rural-production units;
- Health, nutrition, and fertility behaviour;
- Work habits and attitudes;
- Individual and family incomes; and
- National efforts to consolidate the socialist transformations.

Mere regurgitation of clichés from Education for Self-Reliance (Nyerere 1967) does not provide a basis for putting educational objectives into operation at local levels. Some criteria for success other than the purely academic criteria need to be delineated and rewarded in schools. The criteria should be a reflection of the opportunities available to school leavers.

And, at present, there are not enough secondary-school places to accommodate them so that an important issue is their future (Mwanjombe 1977; Ahmed 1980). If secondary-school education continues to expand at the current rate, which, at best, could be described as erratic (Table 32), only 14 000 primary-school leavers will enter public secondary schools. Studies being done by the Changombe Vocational Training Institute suggest that primary-school leavers can master, with 2 years' training, technical skills currently reserved for students who have completed 4 years of secondary school. Thus, the current mushrooming of private and Wazazi technical schools could be

organized and nationalized into 2-year work-study institutes, which are not attempting to become secondary schools. They are vocational institutes that can incorporate both adults and youths in training. The government should heavily subsidize individuals following courses offered at such institutes. In addition, expansion of secondary-school education needs to be considered. The observed lack of immediate employment of current secondary-school leavers should not deter personnel planners. At present, they are only looking at the narrow, formal employment sector, and, in the long run, some of the unemployed secondary-school leavers will become creative and start useful activities by themselves. The pool of talents of secondary-school leavers should be enlarged, and the current diversification program should make self-employment a real possibility. Rigid adherence to personnel targets in a stagnant public sector of the national economy will not inspire real dynamism in the nonformal sector, which could assume great significance as the economy modernizes. Steps to make primary education universal and democratic must be followed by expansion of formal educational systems, the informal and nonformal systems, mass functional-literacy campaigns, recurrent educational opportunities and experiences, universalization of work and work ethics, and modernization and diversification of the tertiary sectors of the educational systems. Otherwise, the result is frustration, introduction of private schools, and regression to illiteracy and negativism.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDED ACTIONS

A central argument in this publication is that education is not just about pedagogy. It is about people and politics as well, and, thus, universal primary education is central to the history of social development in Tanzania and is a political issue in a world where politics rule. The decision to make primary education universal in Tanzania was a political one. All the technocrats since 1961 had been frightened by the so-called prohibitive costs of universal primary education. They could not face its consequences and could not compromise their priorities on projects that were more costly but more consistent with the characteristic bourgeois values. Now, universal primary education is a fact of life in Tanzania and is likely to remain so, provided that the political momentum continues. Educators and other professionals alike probably now agree with the decision to launch universal primary education in 1974. That the decision was inevitable is clear from all the events leading up to it. Kuhanga (1978), talking, in retrospect, about education for self-reliance in Tanzania, was correct:

> Tanzania then (1967) was committed to both universal adult and child education. This was already clear in the early years of our independence. It was only a question of strategy, of where and when to start, for we would need teachers, equipment, and materials, proper curricula and funds.

Yet, the way universal primary education came to Tanzania does not suggest that there was a strategy developed for it. Everything, including teacher preparations, points to the contrary. The decision came like thunder, without much prior consultation or preparation on the means, a timetable, the logistics of takeoff, the management, or the monitoring. The lack of preparation illustrates the disparate relations between political and technocratic tendencies. It is hoped that a lesson has been learned.

The victims are the children who, because of the lack of preparations, the law, the society's aspirations, and civic responsibilities may have to complete 7 years of intolerable schooling. It is in this context that we set forth recommendations for implementation by the government of Tanzania. The importance of education is not only its effects in promoting economic and social development but its ability to raise the dignity of all peoples, enabling them to extend the benefits of competence and thereby enrich the quality of life, consistent with the spirit of the Party Constitution in Tanzania. Accordingly, we recommend that:

- The strategy for the development of the infrastructure and teaching materials for primary education in the rural areas of Tanzania be reevaluated. The present strategy of financing primary education through local, voluntary contributions (Bennett 1972) has totally collapsed and has contributed to great inequalities between regions, districts, and schools. A

reevaluation may mean massive reallocation of resources to create decent schools in the rural areas, with a shifting of resources from other projects, not only in education but also in other sectors. The primary-school budget must greatly increase as the composition and status of teaching staff improve, the numbers of students remain high, and the country's dependence on external resources decreases.

- Local education commissions be instituted at the district level to develop educational policies and curricula relevant to the local circumstances. The current local committees on culture and education do not seem to have the mandate or ability to draft suitable curricula, although in spirit this may have been one of the aims.
- Mechanisms be developed for monitoring the impact of universal primary education on quality of education, especially its impact on equality of educational experiences.
- A population-education policy be developed to moderate both population growth and other demographic factors such as migration, child labour, and marriage timing and arrangements. Otherwise, population growth, currently 3.3% annually, and other factors will frustrate government attempts to provide good-quality education for all.
- Both formal and nonformal educational and training opportunities for primary-school leavers be reexamined with the aim of finding ways to increase the number and variety of educational experiences that would prove useful for employment sectors. This reexamination should be complemented by village-level, youth-oriented social and economic activities.
- The proportion of primary-school leavers who have been trained as teachers in special programs for universal primary education, experienced grade-C teachers, and grade-A teachers be examined for each school and coordinated so that no school is greatly disadvantaged, having only teachers who lack confidence in their mastery of subjects or who are inexperienced and rely heavily on authoritarian and rote methods -- a problem that is exacerbated by the lack of teaching materials.
- Imaginative approaches be taken to the provision of textbooks, sitting facilities, blackboards, writing materials, etc. For instance, carpentry teachers and classes could make simple desks and sitting forms, using local wood or, as is the case in North Korea, packing materials that held government-imported goods.
- The implications of universal primary education on family labour, income, and lifestyle be investigated so that family problems can be alleviated through, for example, alternative schooling schedules and programs. Naik's (1980) action research on similar issues in India may be a useful lead on how to help families needing help in order to release children for schooling.
- A central task force be created, chaired by the Deputy Minister of Education in charge of Basic Education, to coordinate the education efforts of the Prime Minister's Office, regions, and the ministries.
- A central fund for universal primary education be created, with both voluntary and obligatory contributions, to strengthen the program, especially in weak areas. This fund would be administered by the Deputy Minister as chair of the task force and would make the functions of this officer more specific and permanent than they are at present.

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APPENDIX: ACHIEVEMENT TEST GIVEN TO GRADE-2 PUPILS

Hesabu (sums)	Mazoezi ya Hesabu kwa Daraaa la Pili
1. 1 + 6 =	11. 63 − 23
2. 3 + 5 =	12. 92 − 90
3. 8 + 5	13. 20 − 9 _____ = 10
4. 3 + _____ = 7	14. 19 − 12 _____ = 12
5. = 33 + 44	15. 0 + 0 _____ = 2
6. = 22 + 24	16. 12 _____ = 17 − 5
7. 43 + 26	17. 7 + 7 _____ = 8 + 6
8. 50 + 36 =	18. 11 − 0 _____ = 9
9. 48 − 18 =	19. 19 − 9 _____ = 9
10. 69 − 38	20. 17 − 8 =

Kusoma na Kuandika (read and write)

1. Rosa ni mdogo kuliko Juma (Rosa is smaller than Juma).
2. Kikombe cha Juma ni kizuri (Juma's cup is clean).
3. Baba ana ng'ombe mweusi (Father has a black cow).
4. Weka Sahani na Vikombe mezani (Put the plates and saucers on the table).
5. Mama anaangalia kitambaa cha buluu na amefurahi (Mother is looking at a blue cloth and she is happy).
6. Asubuhi bibi anatwanga muhogo na jioni anaketi katika kiti chake (In the morning, the woman pounds the cassava meal, and, in the evening, she sits in her chair).
7. Motokaa ya Damasi inanguruma (Damasi's car is purring).
8. Mwalimu anasoma hadithi nzuri, Sikilizeni (Teacher is reading a nice story; listen).
9. Watoto wanavaa nguo mpya nzuri (The children are wearing good new clothes).
10. Mimi mzee sana sina nguvu za kuchota maji (I am very old,without strength to fetch the water).